LUTHERAN LANDMARKS AND PIONEERS IN AMERICA

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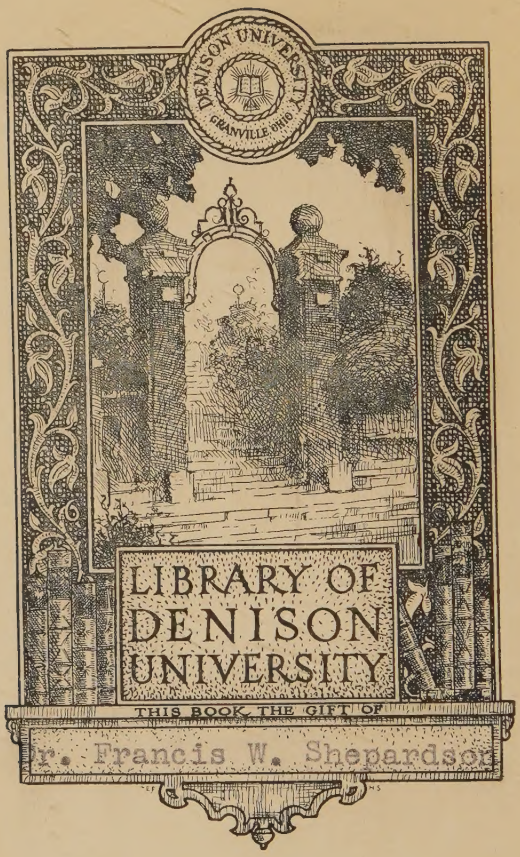

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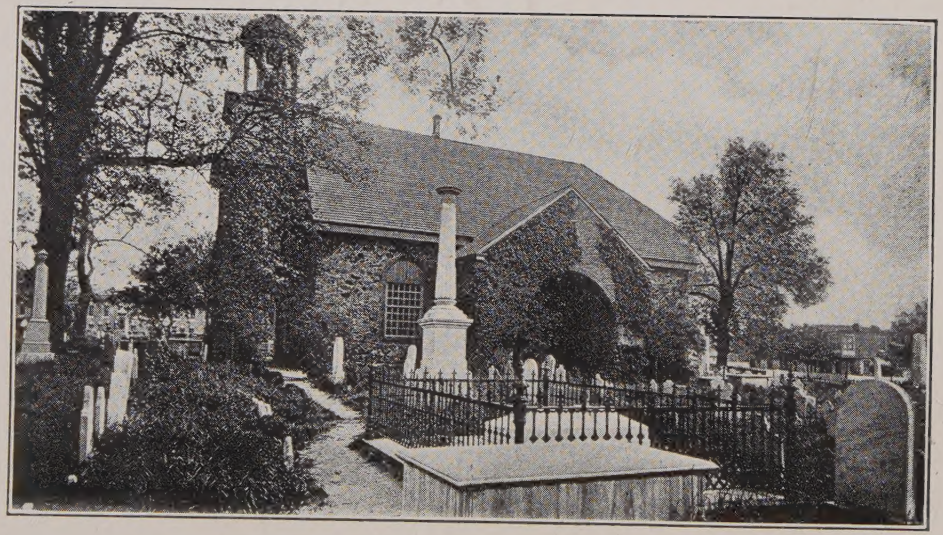

Old Swedes Church, Wilmington, Delaware

Lutheran Landmarks and Pioneers in America

A SERIES OF SKETCHES OF COLONIAL TIMES

BY THE
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With an Introduction by
PROF. ELMER F. KRAUSS, D.D.

WITH MANY APPROPRIATE ILLUSTRATIONS

THIRD EDITION

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To Mother

ON THE OCCASION OF HER EIGHTIETH BIRTHDAY
NOVEMBER 22, 1913

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INTRODUCTION

YOUNG life is nearly always interesting. An animal even, which in its maturity offers but little that is attractive to the casual observer, by its activity and gracefulness and by its abounding vitality in infancy, arouses an interest in the most careless and indifferent. In the same manner the beginnings of great institutions usually afford an absorbing interest which is experienced by the student at no subsequent development of their progress. The beginnings of Church History are scrutinized with an interest that is not exceeded at any later period. This principle also applies to the beginnings of our Church's history in the New World. This department has not received in the past the amount of attention that it deserves, and we hail with delight the results of new and independent labors in this interesting and profitable field. "Lutheran Landmarks and Pioneers in America" is a work of this character.

This book is the fruit of many years of investigation and study. The author was reared almost within the shadow of Trinity Church, that monument of colonial Lutheran devotion that stands to this day on the banks of the Christina in the city of Wilmington; and in his schoolboy days his thoughts often centered upon this venerable edifice with its interesting and stirring history

of Lutheran loyalty and devotion in colonial times. His study of this beginning of Lutheran history along the Delaware developed a thirst for study and research in other fields of like character, that was not to be satiated by deep draughts at this refreshing spring. It grew with his growth and developed into a passion that drove him during the scant hours of leisure in the busy life of a faithful and successful pastor to a delightful study of the traces of early Lutheran activity in more distant fields. Libraries were ransacked, the dust of centuries was blown off musty old manuscripts in the search for data, a valuable and interesting library bearing on early Lutheran history in America was slowly collected, and vacation trips were planned and executed which at the expense of wearisome journeys afoot and by more modern modes of conveyance led him into rich fields of study and research. The results of these labors lie before us in the pages of the interesting and stimulating book now offered to the Lutheran public.

Besides its general historical interest which must appeal to the reader outside of the Lutheran Church, it contains many lessons of especial importance to the Lutheran and touches upon many topics that vitally affect the work of the Church at the present period of her development. To point out briefly and to emphasize a few of these topics of timely interest is the object of this introduction.

In this study of the early beginnings of the history of our beloved Lutheran Church in this country, we are impressed with the manner in which our fathers handled the language problem. This has been a burning question

with us, in the solution of which there has been in the course of the last century and more an incalculable loss to the Church. It is refreshing to note that the men of old subordinated the interests of language to the supreme interests of the Kingdom of God and recognized the fact that the striking miracle of the Day of Pentecost is significant of the truth that "the wonderful works of God" may be successfully proclaimed through the medium of more than one tongue.

Loyalty to the Church and her Confessions is written large over every page of this early history. "The word of God was precious in those days," and the pure Confessions of the Church were prized as a great treasure, not to be apologized for, or to be languidly studied simply for their historical interest, but as containing a succinct statement of the teaching of the Inspired Word of God. In these days of false liberalism and haughty indifference to objective truth, which cannot fail to have an effect also upon individuals of a certain type even in conservative ranks, it is well to emphasize this faithfulness to the Word of God and to the standards of the Church.

It is refreshing to note the missionary zeal that characterized our spiritual forbears in this country. The native red men were not regarded as easy subjects for exploitation to the advantage of the settlers; but in the spirit of Christ they were lovingly regarded as children of a common Heavenly Father, to be taught the precious truths of Salvation and to be made members of his eternal Kingdom. How changed would the history of this nation's treatment of the Indian read if the kindly methods of our

Lutheran Swedes along the Delaware had been employed elsewhere!

When we read the accounts of the long and laborious journeys made by our preachers in colonial times, long before the modern triumphs of steam and electricity were dreamed of, as they traveled, surrounded by manifold dangers and hardships, from Georgia to New York, in gathering the scattered sheep of our faith into congregations and in establishing them in the true Apostolic spirit, we may well congratulate ourselves upon the easier times in which our lot is cast, and seriously raise the question whether we are as faithful in our generation as they were in doing the paramount work entrusted to the Church by her Divine Founder and Head.

The Church in her purer periods has always been an educational institution. Paul taught the youthful Timothy "the form of sound words." Aquila and Priscilla instructed the eloquent Alexandrian Apollos in the way of the Lord. Early in the Church's history catechetical schools sprang up in every large city of the Empire. During the dark ages the torch of learning was kept alive by the Church. The historical seats of learning were founded and fostered by the Church and her leaders. The beginnings of genuine popular education were made under the auspices of the Church, and to the Church we owe all that is good in the popular systems of education of today. This zeal for learning which always characterizes the true Church is conspicuously in evidence in the early history of our Church in America. The schoolhouse was erected by the side of the sanctuary and the teacher

was provided by the Church. If the Church is to hold her own, which she undoubtedly will, she must bestir herself mightily in this present age and manifest a greater spirit of sacrifice and consecrated enterprise than ever before in her glorious history in meeting the demands of a genuinely Christian education.

A striking lesson of the history of our early Church in this country is the fact that a church that does not provide her own ministry cannot abide. How different would be the later history of the Swedish churches along the Delaware if they could have provided themselves with a ministry of their own! It is pathetic to read the appeals of the Lutheran settlers in a strange land to their brethren at home to send them books, teachers, and pastors, and it points us a significant lesson to note the early efforts put forth by these earnest pioneers to raise up a ministry among themselves. The harvest still is plenteous and the laborers are few—fewer than ever before it almost seems—and we need to lay the lesson seriously to heart that an abiding church is one that is alive to the claims of Christian education and that sincerely regards the education of an efficient ministry of paramount importance.

Amid such a feast of good things as this book affords from cover to cover, it is hardly fair to make a distinction, but it seems but just to point out the fitting climax to the preceding pages in the closing chapters on "The Pioneers Helping to Lay the Foundation Stones of the Temple of Liberty." We have always been a modest folk, and because of our reluctance to sound our own praises our achievements have remained unknown beyond our own

borders. By many to this day we are considered hardly an exotic flourishing at a sickly dying rate in the free atmosphere of this country, with no part in the formation of the institutions which we are privileged to enjoy. Until recent times historians have been blind to every influence that could not be traced back to Plymouth Rock and to whom the whole Lutheran Church was no more than a "Dutch" sect unworthy of recognition as contributing any desirable element in the establishing of our glorious institutions. The reading of this book and especially of these closing sketches ought to convince such that the Lutheran Church has an abiding place and an honored name in this new country of which she cannot be deprived. Our history in America, like that on the continent of Europe, is a glorious one. No blush of shame needs mantle the cheek of a loyal son of hers as he peruses these pages. Such a study must strengthen his Lutheran consciousness, increase a praiseworthy pride in the Church of his choice, and fill him with a stronger determination through her to serve more loyally than ever before the Great Head of the Church.

ELMER F. KRAUSS.

MAYWOOD, ILLINOIS,
July 30, 1913.

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

It is but just to make mention of the author's obligations to the Rev. Dr. W. L. Hunton for bringing these sketches to the notice of the reading public of the Lutheran Church through the columns of *Young Folks* and *Young People*. Much of the interest manifested in the series was due to the prominent place given the articles and the many appropriate illustrations used to embellish them.

The appearance of these chapters of Lutheran Church History in the permanent form of a book is wholly due to the many kind expressions of interest received from the readers of the sketches as they were published in the two periodicals named.

The author feels deeply indebted to Mr. Elon O. Henkel, of New Market, Virginia, for the kind assistance he rendered in the final reading of the proof.

This modest contribution to Church History is sent forth as a Lutheran Sketch Book with the hope that it may not fail in its mission of deepening the love of its readers for their Church and of intensifying their zeal and benevolence for the Master's cause.

W. J. F.

LUTHERAN LANDMARKS AND PIONEERS IN AMERICA

I

DYING IN THE FROZEN NORTH

A YEAR before the "Mayflower" sailed from the coast of England, a flotilla of two vessels with sixty-six men left the shores of Denmark under the command of Captain Jens Munck. The boats bore the strange names "Enhjorningen" and "Lamprenen." Their object was to find a northern route to East India. The discoveries of Columbus and those following him had proved that a continent lay between Europe and India to the west, and many efforts were directed toward getting past this continent of land by finding a passage to the north of it, and thus reaching the desired haven of gold and spices.

The little fleet had no difficulty in crossing the Atlantic, and in July touched the southern point of Greenland. Continuing their journey to the westward they entered Hudson Bay, and in August landed on its western shore near the Churchill River. This was in 1619, just nine years after Henry Hudson had discovered these same waters and named them Hudson Strait and Hudson Bay. He, too, tried to find a course to the westward that would

take him to India, but without success. From the time of Hudson's visit to these northern seas it took three centuries before the way was found, for only a few years ago Roalf Amundsen, a Norwegian, the famous discoverer of the South Pole, found a way for the first time through these northern straits and seas out into the Pacific Ocean through the Behring Strait. The discovery is made, but it is doubtful whether it will have any practical value for commerce or the spread of Christianity.

When Captain Munck anchored his two vessels, he took possession of the country in the name of his king, Christian IV, and named it Nova Dania, New Denmark. As it was too late in the season to make the effort to proceed on his journey, he disembarked with his crew and prepared to spend the long winter in the new settlement. The open season here lasts but two months, July and August; during the rest of the time the ground and water are frozen. Vegetation is scarce and only the fur-covered animals are seen.

These sixty-six sailors were the first Lutherans of whose settlement on the soil of North America we have any authentic record. There may have been Lutherans among the Dutch settlers on Manhattan Island as early as 1620, but we have no account of any until several years later. Among the Danes that settled on the Hudson Bay there was a Lutheran minister, whose name was Rasmus Jensen. He was probably of the parish of Aarhus, Denmark, as this name is given in one of the old records connected with his own name. He touched the soil of America nineteen years before the Swedish

Hudson Bay Camp, 1619-20

pastor Torkillus reached the shores of the Delaware. As we will learn from the history of both of these Lutheran ministers, each laid his life on the altar of service in the New World, and from their day on to the final completion of the temple of American liberty in 1789, the influence, labors, and sacrifices of members of the Lutheran Church were always in evidence. She is more than a charter member of our independent nation.

The facts of this Danish colony are learned from the "Dagbog" (journal) of Captain Munck. Upon his return to Denmark he had it printed. It bears the date 1624 upon its antique title page and the familiar quotation from Virgil, "We dared to brave the dangers of the deep." It was republished in old Danish in 1883, and recently brought to the attention of the American reader by Pastor Andersen of Brooklyn, a member of the Danish Lutheran Synod of America. We owe him our deep gratitude for giving us this first chapter of history of the Lutheran Church in America.

In his journal Captain Munck gives a drawing of the settlement to which we give space in these pages for the benefit of our readers. It is reproduced from Dr. Schmauk's "History of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania."

In this picture are seen the two ships and the two buildings used for the captain and his men. In front of the one nearest the reader, the captain himself is seen giving orders. His sword of authority is at his side. The men are busy at work, felling trees and trimming logs. The trees are more numerous than one would

expect to find in that cold country. Hunters are seen to return with wild animals on their shoulders, and sad to relate several of the men are solemnly engaged in burying a companion.

Through the months of September and October, even up to the Christmas holidays, all went fairly well. The men continued in good health, industriously followed their various pursuits, and cheerfully melted ice and cooked their food according to their necessities. They even engaged in sports. Captain Munck says in his day-book, "The weather was fair and mild, and that the time should not grow tedious the men practiced several plays, and those who proved to be the best players were liked the best." The climax of the season of sports was reached on the day before Christmas, when Captain Munck signalized the day by issuing extra rations and frozen liquors to the men. They had a frolicsome time. Christmas day was celebrated in a happy and sacred way. Munck says: "The holy Christmas day we celebrated jointly in a Christian manner; we had preaching and the Lord's Supper, and after service, according to the old custom, we offered to the pastor each one according to his means. Although money was not very plentiful among the people, nevertheless they gave what they had, some giving white fox furs, which the pastor used for lining his gown."

The Christmas season marked the end of all enjoyment the men may have found in their frozen settlement. The winter proved long and dreary, and the hardships and privations of the Danish sailors increased from day

to day. Sickness was added to the other discomforts and miseries. The large majority were attacked by scurvy, that bane of seamen and soldiers of olden times. It is caused by the privation for a considerable time of fresh vegetables and produces great debility of body with a tendency to congestion and hemorrhage. It is supposed that more seamen lost their lives in past centuries through this terrible scourge than from all other causes combined, whether it be sickness, tempest, famine or war.

Captain Munck's men were seized one after the other, and died in rapid succession, usually after lingering for three weeks. A heavy gloom settled over the colony, and became deeper and deeper. Their chief work now was the burial of the bodies of their departed companions. Soon after New Year's day the pastor took sick, and January 25th, when Hans Brock, the helmsman, had died, they brought his remains to the pastor's hut for the burial ceremonies. It was a fair day, and the sad sailors stood about the cabin while the feeble pastor sat on the edge of his cot and performed the last sad rites of the dead and spoke words of comfort and warning to the living. It was his last service, for on February 20, 1620, he, too, answered the summons of death and found a grave in the frozen ground of the New World. Thus early in American history did these western shores lay claim to the life service of the ministers of the Church of the Reformation.

Death continued its work of decimation among these stricken Norsemen. Of the sixty-six men but five were left on April 14th, which was Good Friday. The captain

was one of the five. He now performed the duties of captain and chaplain, attending to all religious services as best he could and reading to his four companions on this day the sermon for Good Friday from the book he had inherited from the departed pastor Jensen.

In May Captain Munck lay deathly sick in his cabin. For four days he could not eat a morsel of food. He felt that his end was nigh. He solemnly made his will, entered the last item, as he supposed, in his "dagbog," and left instructions to his companions concerning his writings. His last sentence in his will was, "All the world, Good night, and my soul in the hand of God." Fortunately he recovered, but two others of the small remnant were claimed by the insatiable hand of death. When the sea opened in July, Munck and the two remaining seamen took the "Lamprenen," the smaller of the two vessels, set sail, and after a successful journey reached the shores of Norway and Denmark in September. It was a sad report the captain made to his lord and king, Christian IV, but he made it in a manly and noble manner. It was not many years before this Christian king made a settlement in East India, but not by way of a northern route, but by the old course around the Cape of Good Hope. This colony formed the basis of operations for the first Protestant missionaries sent to that distant country, the heroic Lutheran pioneers, Ziegenbalg and Plütschau, who labored so successfully laying the foundation of the great work done in India by the Church of the Reformation in the last two hundred years.

Captain Munck lived to see his "dagbog" published.

He closed it with a fervent prayer. He was an earnest man, and did not want to sacrifice human life, but only to serve his king and advance the interests of his country, for which he was willing to undertake all risks and suffer all hardships. He died in the year 1628. His work is not forgotten.

New Denmark was never claimed and occupied by the Danish crown, but it must be remembered to all time that the frozen ground of this unclaimed territory became the home and grave of the first Lutherans in North America, and especially of the first Lutheran minister that lived, labored, and died in the New World.

II

FOLLOWING IN THE WAKE OF HENRY HUDSON

It is not supposed that there were Lutheran sailors in the small crew of Henry Hudson when he discovered the beautiful river which has ever since borne his name. He himself was an Englishman in the employ of the Dutch East India Company and his seamen were no doubt Hollanders and members of the Reformed Church. Nor is there any reason for supposing that his immediate followers under the Dutch West India Company included men of our faith. The settlement of the New World by the Dutch was an exclusively commercial enterprise, like the settlement of Jamestown by the English. Religious motives were lacking and consequently the persecuted Lutherans of Europe were not attracted to this settlement, as were the Germans a century later and the Salzburgers to Georgia. But when the number of colonists began to increase, especially during the time of the wise and magnanimous Peter Minuit, the first director general of New Amsterdam, Lutherans must have come from Holland, for in Amsterdam there were thirty thousand members of the Church of the Reformation and large numbers in Rotterdam and other cities of Holland.

However, they are not mentioned by name until 1643, when a Catholic missionary to the Indians, Isaac Jogues

by name, who had been rescued from his hostile enemies by the Dutch and befriended by the Reformed ministers of New Amsterdam, refers to them in his records. He says, "No religion is publicly exercised but the Calvinist, and orders are to admit none but Calvinists, but this is not observed, for there are besides Calvinists in the colony Catholics, English Puritans, Lutherans, Anabaptists, here called Mennonites, and others." As the Lutherans increased in numbers a desire arose among them to have a pastor and services of their own, but in this they were always opposed by the Reformed ministers and also by the directors, Kieft and Stuyvesant. For twenty years more they were denied religious freedom, compelled to accept the ministrations of the Reformed pastors, and forbidden to meet for services of their own in "houses, barns, ships or yachts, in the woods or fields." They were fined and even imprisoned, and their first pastor, John Ernest Goetwater, was not allowed to minister to his people in private or public, and was ordered to be returned in the same vessel in which he had come. Sickness prevented the execution of their orders and he remained in the colony for at least a year. There is some evidence for asserting that he remained two years, from 1657 to 1659. He was a good and earnest man, and came in the spirit of His name, to give the "good water" of eternal life to his fellow believers. After his return to Holland we hear nothing more of this noble hero.

We associate religious oppression with the old world. The Waldensians, Huguenots, Salzburgers, Palatinates, and Armenians are all in the old world. Yet America,

the cradle of liberty, was not wholly without it in its earlier years, and our own people, who never molested anyone in their religious worship or ever interfered with the civil government, did not escape the hand of the oppressor in America, and Holland, that furnished the first two martyrs of the Reformation, must itself go down in history as the one whose citizens opposed and oppressed the Lutherans in the New World. But inasmuch as this is now deeply regretted on all sides, it is not necessary that these pages be filled with words breathing the spirit of animosity. Let us pass it over with two reflections. Through much heartache and tribulation in its infancy, Lutheranism in Greater New York has grown to grand and gigantic proportions in the present century, and furthered by God's grace and favor and the consecrated wealth and unchanging earnestness of His noblemen, it promises still more for the future. The Lutherans who were persecuted for conscience' sake and on account of their "hard Lutheran pate" in those early years, bore their sufferings with a warm, loving, Christian heart and an unflinching, self-sacrificing steadfastness that should win our appreciation and strengthen us in our loyalty to her of whom each reader can say:

"My Church! My Church! My dear old Church!
My fathers' and my own!"

* * * * * *

When the English conquered the Dutch possessions in the New World in 1664, everything was changed. New Amsterdam became New York; Fort Orange was called

Albany; freedom of worship was granted the Lutherans and all others in the colony. Efforts were at once resumed to secure a minister from the mother country. The Lutheran people had formed a congregation, called Trinity, as early as 1649, if not earlier, and now united with the Ebenezer Lutheran Church of Albany in appealing to the home Church at Amsterdam for a Lutheran pastor. For almost five years the correspondence continued without results, but early in 1669 Pastor Jacob Fabritius arrived. He was a German, but sufficiently versed in the use of the Dutch language to satisfy his hearers. In his time the first Lutheran church was built. It stood outside of the walls of the town. A few years later this frame structure was torn down upon the demand of the civil authorities, as they claimed that the building interfered with the proper defence of the town. Indemnity was paid the congregation and a lot given them within the walls on Broadway. The work of Fabritius was not crowned with success, as his life and practice did not harmonize with his calling and preaching, and he was soon compelled to give up his field on account of his bad conduct. In later years he redeemed himself by his faithful services on the Delaware. Before leaving, he installed the new pastor that had come from Holland, Bernard Anton Arens. He proved to be a genial, lovable, and faithful pastor, who served the people for twenty-five years or more, but like many of the prophets of old left no records of himself or his work. It is certain that he continued his services until his death, which must have occurred about 1695.

The Dutch language continued to be used in the services until 1771, but with the arrival of the Germans, beginning with New Year's day, 1709, Dutch and German were both used in Trinity Church, causing considerable friction from time to time. English was also employed occasionally, and its use became more and more imperative. The Patriarch Muhlenberg served the congregation in 1751 and 1752, and effectively preached in all three tongues. After 1771, German became the prevailing language, but with the arrival of Dr. Kunze, in 1784, English services were permanently introduced. The history of the language question in New York is full of the spice of variety, the myrrh of bitterness, the fire of contention, and the blood of litigation.

The frame church erected on Broadway by the Trinity congregation about 1674 was repaired during the pastorate of Justus Falckner, and replaced by a large stone building in 1729 by the efforts of his brother, Daniel Falckner. Pastor Berkenmeyer assisted at the dedication. It is in this church that the patriarch preached in 1751. We reprint a picture of it from Dr. Schmauk's History with appreciative acknowledgments.

The history of the growth of the Lutheran Church in New York and of the labors and achievements of her leaders is a long one and not without its interesting features. Dr. John Nicum has told the story in a scholarly way in his history of the New York Ministerium, and Dr. Jacobs and Dr. Wolf in their readable histories of the Lutheran Church in America. To these works and others within his reach my interested reader must turn if

Trinity Lutheran Church, 1729–84
(After rude sketch made 1740)
Formerly S. W. Cor Broadway and Rector Streets
New York City

he desires to continue the study. Suffice it to say that on this soil lived and labored many earnest, self-sacrificing pioneers like Rudman, the two Falckners, Von Kocherthal, Berkenmeyer, and the Muhlenbergs, father and son; here, too, lived the first Lutheran theological professor who enjoyed a regular call with a promised salary, Dr. John Christopher Kunze; here, too, sprang up the first Lutheran theological seminary in America, styled Hartwick Seminary, founded by one of the pioneer pilgrims of the Lutheran Church, John Christopher Hartwig; here, too, was organized the second Lutheran Synod in America, the Ministerium of New York. The expansion of our Church from these early days of small things and tremendous trials forms a long chapter of a remarkable growth and development, in spite of the severest struggles and direst disappointments, and it impresses upon us anew the injunction, "Despise not the day of small things." "They that sow in tears shall reap in joy."

III

CHRISTINA AND HER COLONY IN THE NEW WORLD

When the famous Swedish king, Gustavus Adolphus, lost his life at Lützen in 1632, the heir to the throne was his little daughter Christina. She lacked just one month of being six years of age. Until her eighteenth birthday, the government was under the control of a board of chancellors, the chief of whom was the Prime Minister Oxenstiern.

Christina was a lovely little child, and grew up to be a queen of much grace and many accomplishments. She was beautiful, tender, sympathetic; her countenance changed with every new emotion; she showed much grace in her manners and her personal demeanor was very attractive; her voice was mild, though when occasion demanded she could use it with masculine strength. She loved virtue and was passionately fond of honor. She could speak Swedish, French, and German and read with ease both Latin and Greek. She was a great horsewoman, and no hunter in her kingdom was a better marksman. A contemporary praises her for her gift of comprehension and retentiveness of memory, her love for the society of learned men, and her desire for scientific discussion and conversation.

Where the Swedes Landed, March, 1638

Her subjects loved her dearly, and when the two Swedish ships, "Key of Calmar" and "Griffin," sailing up the Delaware River turned into a stream toward the west, they named it in honor of their queen, Christina. They found an inviting landing place on a cluster of rocks on its banks and on an elevated triangle of land receding to the west and north they built a fort, likewise calling it Christina. Back of the fort they laid out their little town, under the direction of the engineer Kling, and called it Christinaham. Thus they tried to show their love for their young queen.

The spot where they landed is marked by a stone hewed from the rock itself, and bears the following inscription:

THIS STONE IS A PORTION
OF THE ROCKS ON WHICH LANDED
THE FIRST SWEDISH COLONISTS
IN AMERICA, 29 MARCH, 1638.
ON THIS SPOT STOOD
FORT CHRISTINA.
HERE THE SWEDES HELD THEIR FIRST
CIVIL COURTS, AND IN THE CHAPEL OF
THE FORT CELEBRATED THEIR FIRST
CHRISTIAN WORSHIP IN
THE NEW WORLD.

ERECTED BY THE DELAWARE SOCIETY OF
COLONIAL DAMES OF AMERICA,
29 MARCH, 1903.

All through the early years of its existence, Christina gave her attention to this little colony in the Western Hemisphere, and her chancellors sent governors and ministers. The first governor was Peter Minuit and the first minister Reorus Torkillus. The civil leader was to rule the colony, preserve the peace and further the trade with the Indians. The pastor was to care for the spiritual welfare of the colonists and teach the natives the true way of life through Jesus. Minuit was a man well suited for his place, and he was acquainted with the country, and he proved himself a good leader in the construction of the fort and in the building of the humble dwelling-places of the settlers. He gave Fort Christina the benefit of his valuable experience secured at New Amsterdam.

Torkillus was the first Swedish Lutheran minister to touch the soil of America. It is probable that he came with the first transport, under Minuit, in 1638, though the historian Norberg asserts that he did not arrive until 1639. I cannot deny the assertion, but I love to think, with Campanius and Acrelius, that he came in the first vessel, and that thus side by side the civil and spiritual leaders accompanied and directed the colonists, and that when they reached their final landing-place, on the banks of the Christina, they knelt down, pastor and people, and thanked their Heavenly Father for their safe arrival on the shores of a friendly land. It can be safely said that no colony would be considered complete by Christina and her counsellors without a minister, who was to be a pastor for his countrymen and a missionary for the heathen Indians. Torkillus was a faithful minister. Before a

church could be built he gathered his parishioners together in the fort for worship. Thus he continued till the spring of 1643, when a dreadful scourge broke out among the colonists, sixteen of them dying, and the pastor suffered with the rest. He grew worse and worse, and on September 7th he died, at the early age of thirty-five, leaving a wife and one small child. They laid his body away with much sorrow in a small God's acre they had set apart on the high ground back of the fort. Forty-five years later, in building the stone church, the south wall was allowed to pass over his grave, forming a fitting monument to the departed pioneer.

In the meantime, Queen Christina had sent Governor John Printz to the colony to succeed Minuit, who had lost his life on board of a ship on his way to Sweden. With him came another minister, whose name was John Campanius. After a long journey they reached Fort Christina February 15, 1643, so that the pastor was in the colony in time to minister to Torkillus and his people while he was unable to reach them. Campanius renewed and extended the missionary work among the Indians. He spent much time among them, learning their ways and customs and becoming acquainted with their language. He soon made himself understood, as much of the talking was done by gesticulation and object lessons, and a strong friendship was developed through him between the Swedish colonists and the Indians. The mutual confidence was never broken on either side, and when Penn arrived forty years later he found that the Indians had learned from the Swedish settlers to trust the white people,

making it easy for him to conduct his negotiations of peace with them. To aid him in the work of teaching these children of the soil the wonderful way of truth as it is in Jesus, Campanius translated Luther's Small Catechism into the tongue of the Delaware Indians. It was the first work translated into an Indian dialect. Fifty years later King Charles of Sweden had the booklet printed for further use among the Indians in the colony. In the meantime Eliot had translated the Bible into the dialect of the Indians in Massachusetts, and it was published in book form some thirty years before the printing of the Catechism. It is evident, however, that the Swedes on their part labored for the conversion of the natives, and as a consequence the Swedes and the Indians always lived in peace together.

The governor soon after his arrival changed his place of residence from Fort Christina to Tinicum Island in the Delaware River between Chester and Gloucester. It is now the site of the Lazaretto used for the quarantine of vessels bound for Philadelphia. Campanius accompanied him. Here a palatial residence was built for the governor, a fort for the defence of the colony, and a church for the work of Campanius. The church was the first one erected in New Sweden, and in the land that is now the State of Pennsylvania. It was consecrated September 4, 1646.

Prosperous years of growth and development followed in the colony. There was peace with the Indians; no crop failures discouraged the sturdy colonists; a brisk and lucrative trade was carried on with the natives; and as yet there was no serious trouble with neighboring settle-

ments. The colony slowly increased in numbers, so that by 1654 there were nearly five hundred inhabitants. Altogether nine transports had left Sweden for America with new settlers, provisions, implements, cattle, arms, and ammunition. Eight of these reached Fort Christina and Fort Tinicum, and greatly added to the convenience, protection, and wealth of the colony; the ninth was lost at sea.

About this time many troubles arose in Sweden. In 1654 Queen Christina abdicated the throne in favor of her lover-cousin, Charles Gustavus, and then left him and her country, recklessly spending thirty-five years in Brussels, Paris, and Rome amidst literary pursuits, sensual pleasures, court intrigues, and ambitious disappointments. One year after her abdication, Peter Stuyvesant came sailing up the Delaware with seven war vessels, conquered New Sweden and raised the Dutch flag over all the Swedish forts. Thus, after a dominion of seventeen years, the Swedish crown suddenly lost its power in the Western Hemisphere and it was never restored. Fortunately for our Lutheran settlers, Stuyvesant allowed them to retain their pastors and teachers and made no effort to establish the State Church of Holland. The civil history of New Sweden thus comes to an abrupt end, but the religious history continues for about one hundred and fifty years longer.

IV

BEARERS OF LIGHT IN THE HOURS OF DARKNESS

When the crown of Sweden in 1655 surrendered her possessions in the New World, a period of spiritual darkness set in for her former subjects on the Delaware. The reason for this is not hard to find. One of the conditions of the surrender was that all that desired to do so could return to the mother country. The officers among the Swedes and other prominent colonists were not slow to avail themselves of this privilege. The Lutheran ministers, Holgh, Nerturius, and Matthias, also accepted the opportunity of returning home. Pastor Campanius had gone back to his native land several years before. Many of the remaining colonists declined to become subjects of Holland, sold their possessions and returned; others, however, were so pleasantly settled and so firmly established in the New World that with the promise of religious freedom they showed their readiness to remain in their present home.

One minister only was left among the colonists. His name was Lawrence Lock. He had come over in the days of Governor Printz, and therefore was a witness to every governmental change in the colony, including the fall of the Dutch power in 1664, when they were conquered by

the English, and the arrival of William Penn in 1682. He alone of the spiritual advisers decided to remain and cast in his lot with his countrymen in the New World. Further help from Sweden, either in civil or religious matters, could no longer be looked for, and all depended upon the ministrations of this one minister. It was a large parish, and discouragements arose among the people. The Dutch government furnished neither pastors nor teachers. The people suffered for the want of both, and their children grew up without the spiritual care they needed.

During the earlier days of his ministry Pastor Lock had but two preaching points, Fort Christina and Tinicum Island. The Dutch encouraged the settlement of Fort Casimir, now New Castle, and Swedes were attracted to this vicinity. A few were also pushing across the Delaware and settling in New Jersey. To accommodate the colonists better, a site was selected in the marshes south of the Christina River, at a point called Tranhook by the Dutch and Cranehook by the English; at the present time its name is Pigeon Point. It was less than two miles southeast of Fort Christina, and about four miles north of New Castle, on a point of land formed by the confluence of the Christina and Delaware Rivers. It could be conveniently reached by water from all directions except the west, and was favorable for the Swedes living on the east bank of the Delaware in New Jersey. Here they built a wooden church, twenty-four feet square. It rested on four large bowlders, and at its side grew a massive buttonwood tree. The church was used for thirty-two years. Then it fell into decay, and its location was almost

forgotten, but the oldest inhabitant remembered the tree, and the stump was found in the field. A few years ago a monument about five feet high was erected to mark the spot. We give a picture of the granite shaft which stands upon a knoll in the middle of a field a hundred yards from the road. The inscription it bears is as follows:

THIS STONE
MARKS THE SITE OF
CRANEHOOK CHURCH
BUILT 1667
ERECTED BY THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF
DELAWARE, 1896

In the meantime Swedes and Finns were settling farther to the north on the Delaware. Three brothers, by the name of Swenson, bought the land lying between the Schuylkill and Delaware Rivers. Others settled in the vicinity on both sides of the Schuylkill. Pastor Lock, to accommodate them, secured a blockhouse on Swenson's land fronting on the Delaware and converted it into a place of worship. Here he began to hold services in 1669. He did his part in rearing lighthouses of the gospel among his people. A picture of this blockhouse at Wicaco has been preserved and is given for the benefit of our readers. Sometimes blockhouses were built differently for the better defence of the colonists, as is seen from the following quotation from Acrelius: "The churches were so built that, after a suitable elevation, like any other house, a projection was made some courses higher, out of which

Site of Lutheran Church at Cranehook

Block Church, at Wicaco

they could shoot, so that if the heathen fell upon them, which could not be done without their coming up to the house, then the Swedes could shoot down upon them continually, and the heathen, who used only bows and arrows, could do them little or no injury."

For almost forty years Pastor Lock labored along the Delaware, holding regular services at his three churches. He had his troubles in his home and parish, which often interfered with his work, still he continued until feebleness of body and lameness of limb increased the infirmities of old age. He died in September, 1688. He bore the lamp of life until he could move no more.

While he was still in active service, a Lutheran minister came from New York to New Castle, where his wife had property. It was Jacob Fabritius. He had installed his successor at New York and was now free to labor in another field. To what extent he assisted Pastor Lock at this time, which was in 1671, is not known. But it is certain that he became acquainted throughout the whole district, and probably Pastor Lock was glad to have some assistance in his large parish and encouraged the visitor. Fabritius returned to New York in 1673, but in 1677, on Trinity Sunday, he preached his introductory sermon at the Wicaco block church. From this time on he served this congregation from his home, some miles above on the Delaware, now Kensington. Lock supplied Tinicum and Tranhook, and thus the work was cared for until Lock felt his strength insufficient for the journeys, and Fabritius supplied the whole parish, going from point to point in a canoe. He was a German, but had mastered

the Dutch language in New York, and in his old age also acquired a knowledge of the Swedish sufficient for his pastoral ministrations.

Is it not deserving of our attention, that these ministers of old were so ready to supply the gospel in the language required by their hearers? It finds its explanation in the nature of our Church. She is truly a Church for all people and her ministers labor in the unselfish spirit inculcated by her.

Nine years before his death, Fabritius became blind. He still continued his work, engaging a guide to convey him from place to place and to lead him from house to house. Thus he lingered till 1696. During his last years he was unable to leave his home, and his parishioners were compelled to come to him for needed ministrations, like the baptism of their children, marriages, and other spiritual help.

This man of many troubles and transgressions in his New York career, crowned the latter portion of his life with earnestness, self-denial, and fidelity covering many years and winning the respect, gratitude, and approbation of his parishioners. In an official letter written before his death it is said, "He is also an admirable preacher, but, God's blessing on him, he is so aged, and has lost his sight for so long a time; yet is he one who has taught us God's pure and true Word and administered the holy sacraments among us." Dr. Jacobs, in his "History of the Lutheran Church," speaks so generously and sympathetically of this pioneer and pilgrim that we shall place his words on record here. He says, page 57: "Let the name

of Jacob Fabritius be associated in the history of the Lutheran Church in America with the picture of an old man, chastened by his sorrows and penitent over the remembrance of his life in New York, rowed in a canoe from Kensington, his later residence, to his preaching places, or led to the pulpit by an attendant, to proclaim in imperfect Swedish the praises of the Saviour of sinners to the sinful and tempted, rather than that presented to us concerning his earlier years in this country. It is the glory of our holy religion that it is its special mission to produce such changes."

It was growing darker and darker in the colony. The two light bearers could bear the light no longer. But even then there was faith among the colonists which supported them. They believed in God and in His care for His destitute children. He came to their rescue, for, in the absence of ordained ministers, He made two laymen feel the Saviour's command, "Ye shall be witnesses unto me." He raised up a light bearer in each portion of the colony. In the upper part this servant whom the Lord called was Anders Bengtson. He is the forerunner of the Banksons of the present day, many of whom live in Philadelphia and vicinity. He had come over in the ship "Mercurius," in 1656, which returned with its cargo of freight and passengers, because they found the Dutch government in control. Bengtson cast in his lot with his countrymen in the New World and remained. Upon the decline of the strength of Fabritius, he endeavored to keep the people together by holding lay services. He read the Scriptures and sermons, announced hymns and offered

prayers. As far as possible he also tried to give instructions to the young. His humble efforts were not appreciated by the younger portion of the flock, I regret to say, but he kept the flickering light from going out, and prevented darkness from closing in on the people. He was still living in 1703, an old Christian hero.

Many years before, perhaps as early as 1680, a newcomer had arrived at Christina. He had come from the direction of Maryland, and, strange to say, he felt perfectly at home among the Swedes, and decided to stay with them. He was comparatively a young man, well versed in both Swedish and English, and able to converse with the Indians. He soon told his interesting story. His name was Charles Christopher Springer. He was born in Sweden, and as a young man was in the employ of the Swedish consul at London. While on the London streets one day he was kidnapped, carried off to sea and sold to a Virginia planter for five years' service. He served his master faithfully in the prosperous Virginia home, but when the term was completed he found his way to his countrymen on the Delaware, of whom he had heard during his service. He settled at Christina, married, and became one of the most active of the colonists, serving not only as lay reader and teacher for the people in the lower portion of the parish, but as secretary for the whole parish, as interpreter and as magistrate. He was a lifelong deacon in the Christina congregation, filling the post for forty-five years, if not longer. He became the father of a large American family, and was at one time the owner of much of the land on which Wilmington is now located.

He lived to be eighty years old, and died in 1738. Him God raised up to be a light bearer in the hours of darkness in the colony, and standing side by side with Bengtson he labored to keep the people in the faith. By the efforts of these two men the churches were kept open till others appeared to bear the light. In spite of their untiring work, all was very discouraging. The growing youth neglected their opportunities of worship and failed to attend the services. This caused great grief in the hearts of their elders. But they knew that the night would come to an end, and it did.

Before closing this chapter of Church history, we must ask the reader to linger a moment in thought and admiration over the true story of these four men that nobly served their generation in the time of darkness. In deep appreciation of the services of these worthy pioneers are these words written. May they help to rear a monument of gratitude in our hearts sacred to their memory, and teach us a lesson of loving loyalty to the Church they loved so much!

V

MORNING BREAKS UPON THE GLOOM

Midsummer's day, June 24, 1697, was a day of bright sunshine in the Swedish colony on the Delaware. Heavy rains had fallen during the past days and weeks, but this day everything was joy and happiness. Messengers were running to all parts of the country and the tidings which they bore were all the same. Three missionaries had come from Sweden. The long night was gone and every heart was glad. The king of Sweden had sent these men in the name of the crown to his countrymen in the New World to bear the light of the gospel in the midst of them and to teach the Indians around them the way of life.

How had it all been brought about? The answer might make a long story, for it runs over the space of well-nigh fifteen years. In the first place, William Penn, upon his return to England, informed the Swedish authorities in London of the spiritual needs of their countrymen in his province of Pennsylvania. A few years later a nephew of the former Governor Printz, Andrew Printz by name, visited Philadelphia and found the Swedes there and noticed their desire for religious teachers. When he reached his home he related his experience to the postmaster of Gothenburg, John Thelin, who had the informa-

tion about the needs of the pious and God-fearing Swedes brought to the attention of King Charles. The king took a great deal of interest in the matter, and in spite of all his civil and military affairs at once promised to send both ministers and books, whereupon Thelin addressed a letter of inquiry to the Swedes upon the Delaware, which reached them May 21, 1693. Charles Springer called all the colonists together and with their help he sent a long letter in reply, giving in detail all the information asked for and making humble request for two ministers and a number of books for use in home and church. Upon receipt of this letter in Sweden, the king gave orders for the selection of ministers, for the publication of five hundred copies of Luther's Catechism, translated into the dialect of the Indians by Campanius, and for the purchase of books desired by the colonists. The prayerful patience of the pious believers had its reward at last.

The three missionaries had left the presence of the king the year before their arrival, and after spending several months in London, where they made much progress in the study of the English language, had set sail for America in February, 1697, arriving in the Chesapeake Bay in June. It took them several days to ascend the bay, but when they reached Annapolis they were very cordially received by the governor, Francis Nicholson. At the end of four days he bade them Godspeed and sent them at his own expense in a boat heavily laden with provisions to the Elk River, which was the nearest landing place to the Swedish colony. Here they found some of their countrymen living, and they were rejoiced to see them. Friend-

ships were formed that were never forgotten by the missionaries. At the earliest possible moment they were conducted to the heart of the colony at Christina. It was midsummer's day.

One of the ministers described their reception in the following words: "Before we had been there a day and a night, the people flocked in great numbers to see us; they came from a distance of ten or twelve Swedish miles in order to conduct us to their place of meeting. They welcomed us with great joy, and would hardly believe we had arrived until they saw us."

Several days were spent in becoming acquainted with the people living in the vicinity of Christina. On the first Sunday only a small meeting of prayer and thanksgiving was held, as the church at Tranhook was surrounded by water on account of a freshet. On Tuesday, June 29th, they went to Philadelphia for the first time and presented their passports to the Lieutenant Governor William Markham. He received them with much kindness and encouraged them in their mission.

On Wednesday of the same week they held their first public meeting in the block church at Wicaco and presented all their credentials to the people, reading the letters and all the papers they had from the king and others in authority in Sweden. Then they returned to Christina and on Friday did the same thing in the Tranhook Church. Sunday, July 4th, the religious services were begun in the Wicaco Church, and the following Sunday at Tranhook. The pastors now felt ready to begin their work with earnestness and enthusiasm. The books which they had

brought with them were distributed to the best advantage of the people. The five hundred Indian catechisms were carefully reserved for use as the opportunities would present themselves, though some copies were called into immediate service, as the colonists lived on very friendly terms with their neighbors, could converse with them and were glad to get this book to assist in giving them spiritual instruction. Charles Springer was engaged by the Indians themselves to read and explain the Catechism. It delighted them to know that the king had sent them a book in their own language. Only in eternity shall we learn how many souls of the red men were brought to the knowledge of the truth through this little manual of our true religion.

But now it is time for us to become acquainted with these three bearers of light on the Delaware. The first was the king's own selection, and his name was

Andrew Rudman.

To him was assigned the church at Wicaco, near to which the "clever little town" of Philadelphia had sprung up. He also preached at Tinicum. He was a very pious and lovable man, but not strong physically. He made many friends among the English-speaking people, and labored arduously for the advancement of his own flock. In spite of the greatest difficulties he accomplished much good. But he had to contend with the weakness of his body, and he early petitioned the king to allow him to return to Sweden. Before he left his home he extracted a promise from the archbishop of Sweden to allow him to

return in the course of a few years with the guarantee of a suitable appointment in the home Church. His request was granted and a successor had arrived. But in the meantime he had married Miss Mattson, the daughter of a Swedish colonist, and she preferred to remain in her native land. Then, too, it was hard in those days to arrange for the journey across the wide, wide ocean. After the arrival of his successor he allowed himself to be prevailed upon by the Dutch Lutherans of New York to come and preach for them, as they were without a pastor, and the man with his large heart but weak body consented.

Let us not pass too hurriedly over this item in Rudman's biography. This Swedish minister, who had already made considerable progress in the use of German and English, and had accepted every opportunity of holding services in these two languages, now undertook to learn and use the Dutch tongue. All honor to this noble pioneer!

Rudman labored in New York for eighteen months, suffering from the severity of the climate and almost losing his life in a yellow fever epidemic. He returned in the fall of 1703, secured a successor for New York, and labored for almost five years more in the vicinity of Philadelphia, preaching in three languages under the greatest difficulties, with many hardships, and in spite of bodily weakness and consuming disease. Wearied, worn and worried, his frail body at last refused to continue the struggle. When he died his colleagues and friends committed his body to the ground in front of the chancel

in the church he had built. Over his grave they placed a tablet with the following inscription:

"THIS MARBLE COVERS THE REMAINS OF REV'REND ANDREW RUDMAN. BEING SENT HITHER FROM SWEDEN, HE FIRST FOUNDED AND BUILT THIS CHURCH; WAS A CONSTANT, FAITHFUL PREACHER IN THE ENGLISH, SWEDISH AND DUTCH CHURCHES ELEVEN YEARS IN THIS COUNTRY, WHERE HE ADVANCED TRUE PIETY BY SOUND DOCTRINE AND GOOD EXAMPLE. HE DIED SEP. 17, 1708. AGED 40 YEARS."

He left a widow and two daughters. His daughter Catherine in later years became the wife of the Swedish pastor Tranberg. Magdalen reached the age of seventy years, and Muhlenberg might have known her, as she lived to see the year 1769.

Jonas Aureen

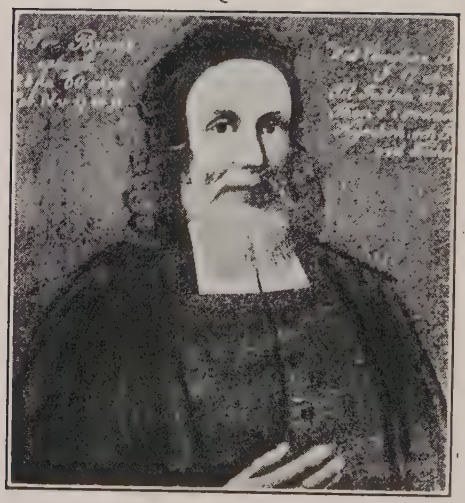
is the second of the three that came to the colony of Lutherans on the Delaware. He belonged to a family with whom the king was personally acquainted, and was sent not as a missionary but as the personal agent of the king to make a study of the land and of the people and to return at an early day to make his report. That he might be of greater service on this journey he was ordained before leaving home.

He never returned to Sweden. The reason is near at hand. Among the first information received after reaching the colony was that King Charles had died. Aureen felt free to remain, and he made his home in the New

World. No preaching place was assigned to him in the first years of his stay in America, and he returned to the place where the missionaries had landed on the Elk River and lived there. He spent an earnest, active life, devoting much of his time to the conversion of the Indians. His missionary labors carried him far into the country, reaching points that are now in Lancaster and Chester Counties. No doubt he made abundant use of the Catechism brought from Sweden.

He was early influenced by the Sabbatarians in the colony, and adopted their false ideas of setting aside Saturday as the true day of worship instead of Sunday. This caused his two colleagues much grief, and Rudman before going to New York warned his people against accepting the erroneous doctrine. The other missionary wrote a kind and peaceful English tract in reply to his teachings. In 1706 the Swedes in New Jersey needing a pastor called Aureen. He laid the matter before the pastor at Christina and the governor of New York, and received instructions to observe Saturday for himself, if he desired to do so, but to minister to the parish as was customary on the Lord's Day. This he consented to do and there was no further trouble. For almost seven years he ministered faithfully to his people, until he died February 17, 1713, leaving a wife and two small children. His grave, unmarked and unknown, is in the God's acre of the Raccoon Church, now Swedesboro, New Jersey.

Thus two of the three ministers helped to consecrate the American soil by entrusting their bodies to its bosom to await the resurrection to life everlasting.



Rev. Ericus Tobias Biorck

VI

THE GREATEST OF THE THREE

In these sketches of the Swedes on the Delaware, our readers have become acquainted with two of the missionaries sent to the New World by King Charles XI, Rudman and Aureen. It is now time to introduce the third and to speak of his work. His name is Ericus Tobias Björck, commonly called Eric Biorck. The surname, no doubt, was pronounced as though spelt Bee-erk, with the accent on the first syllable. He was the greatest of the three in length of service and in abundance of labors; in his earnestness and faithfulness, he was not surpassed by the others. To him was assigned the lower part of the parish, which worshiped at the Tranhook Church. For several years he also crossed the Delaware and preached at Penn's Neck, in West Jersey.

Biorck spent seventeen years in this country and had the pleasure of seeing his many efforts productive of rich results. Troubles and difficulties there were without number, but his patient and tactful work removed or overcame them. Three duties presented themselves clearly to his view from the start, and to their performance he devoted himself earnestly and persistently. First, the improvement of the attendances demanded his attention, and having secured the presence of his people at the

services, he instructed them in the proper way and spirit of worship. He urged all to come, especially the young, and trained them in singing and endeavored to instill in them the true idea of worshiping God in the home and in the sanctuary.

In the second place, he gave himself to the instruction of the members in secular and religious knowledge. Among the books the missionaries had brought with them were primers and readers. These he distributed so that one copy at least should be in each home. Where possible, he arranged for the holding of school for the children throughout the colony. Only three Swedish books were found when the missionaries arrived, and the young people had had a very poor chance to learn to read and write. In spite of Mr. Springer's efforts to educate the young, but few were found who were not deplorably lacking in their learning.

The efforts of Pastor Biorck to increase the knowledge of his people in the Bible were as unique as they were successful. At the first regular service that he held at the Tranhook Church, July 11, 1697, he announced that he would begin with the reading of the Bible as a part of their weekly worship, one chapter in the Old Testament and one in the New, and thus continue until he had publicly read the whole Bible. This was a large undertaking, was it not? Would he persevere to the end? He had the courage to try, and the pious persistency to continue, and he succeeded. In his journal he carefully noted his progress, and we can follow him as he goes on chapter by chapter and book by book. In his own reverent way, in the

flowing beauty of the Swedish tongue, which is called the French of the North on account of its mellow sweetness, he read the majestic words of the first chapter of Genesis:

"IN THE BEGINNING GOD CREATED THE HEAVEN AND THE EARTH. AND THE EARTH WAS WITHOUT FORM AND VOID; AND DARKNESS WAS UPON THE FACE OF THE DEEP. AND THE SPIRIT OF GOD MOVED UPON THE FACE OF THE WATERS. AND GOD SAID, LET THERE BE LIGHT: AND THERE WAS LIGHT."

In five weeks he reached these beautiful words found in the fifth chapter of St. Matthew:

"YE ARE THE LIGHT OF THE WORLD. A CITY THAT IS SET ON A HILL CANNOT BE HID. NEITHER DO MEN LIGHT A CANDLE AND PUT IT UNDER A BUSHEL, BUT ON A CANDLESTICK; AND IT GIVETH LIGHT UNTO ALL THAT ARE IN THE HOUSE. LET YOUR LIGHT SO SHINE BEFORE MEN, THAT THEY MAY SEE YOUR GOOD WORKS AND GLORIFY YOUR FATHER WHICH IS IN HEAVEN."

He faithfully continued to read in this order until the ninth of October, 1701, when he rejoiced to read the blessed words with which the New Testament ends:

"HE THAT TESTIFIETH THESE THINGS SAITH, SURELY I COME QUICKLY; AMEN. EVEN SO, COME, LORD JESUS. THE GRACE OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST BE WITH YOU ALL. AMEN."

The day he read the last chapter of the New Testament, he read the fourteenth of first Samuel in the Old, so that he still had two-thirds of the first part of the Bible to read.

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In order to further his progress, he now began with the first chapter of Isaiah, and each Sunday he read one chapter in order from Genesis and one in the prophets.

It took more than a year to pass through the majestic chapters of Isaiah. Pastor and people entered deeply into the spirit of these beautiful words and listened with solemn reverence to the words of Isaiah, Jeremiah and the other prophets. Thus he continued without interruption. When he reached the Psalms, he often read a number of them together. The day the one hundred and nineteenth was read, he selected no lesson from the prophets, but even then it made a long selection, but there was no clock in the church and dinner could wait better than the food of heaven.

On Sunday, August 31, 1707, which was the twelfth Sunday after Trinity, he was able to make the following entry in his records:

"The twelfth Sunday I finished the reading of the whole Bible, both the Old and New Testament for the first time, which I began the year I came here. . . . In concluding, I remarked that those who had been diligent and punctual might say confidently that at least they had heard the whole Bible read once in their lifetime from beginning to end, while those who have been negligent, could not say so. But many who heard the beginning and a part thereof are now dead, but it is to be hoped that they are in greater knowledge than we can be who remain. . . . The thirteenth Sunday after Holy Trinity Sunday, I began again in the name of the Lord, which is the second time of the reading of the Bible in the church."

All honor to this noble man for his perseverance. He had his reward. But we must hasten on to what he found his third great duty and upon which rests his reputation as a great worker. It was the selection of a new site for a church and its construction. From the time of his arrival in the field, he was made to feel that Tranhook was unsuitable, if for no other reason than that it was surrounded by marshes, which were frequently inundated. It is true the people had become attached to this location and had bought a farm of one hundred acres near the church for the use of the minister. The pastor persuaded them, however, that it was suitable for neither church nor parsonage. In a short time, all parties were reconciled to the change of location. A prominent site was selected back of the old fort, on the ground used for burial purposes, and the work of building the church was begun. To satisfy the members living near New Castle, a free ferry was established across the Christina, and to retain the good will of the people living in West Jersey, the pastor promised to hold occasional services in their community.

The building of the church was a tremendous undertaking for Biorck. Every step demanded his personal care, attention, and encouragement. Many different opinions were prevalent among his parishioners, and to establish any degree of unanimity among them demanded the wisest generalship. Many of his members would have been satisfied with a wooden church, as the three others that had been erected in the colony were but blockhouses. They yielded to his persuasion and decided to use stone. The dimensions suggested by the pastor were far beyond the

vision of his people. Starting with what the most liberal among them suggested, twenty by thirty, and twelve feet high, he twice persuaded them to consent to increase the dimensions, until finally the figures in the contract were thirty by sixty feet, inside measurements, with walls twenty feet high.

During the early months of the year 1698, the colonists brought the stone from a neighboring farm near the banks of the Brandywine on sleds or sledges. It is a very substantial blue granite, and the Brandywine is famous for it to this day. Saturday, May the twenty-eighth, the first stone was laid in the trenches dug with great care for the church. It was a happy day. Both Mr. Rudman and Mr. Aureen were present to share the joy with the pastor. Upon the foundation, walls were built three feet thick up to the window sills and from this line two feet thick. We find this happy record in the journal: "The twelfth of August, Friday, the mason work was happily finished twenty feet high all around—Glory to God!" After this was done a new contract was made with the same mason for building the gable ends and plastering the whole interior. This work was finished December 24th, of this memorable year, 1698. The rest of the winter and the whole of the spring were consumed in putting on the roof and in finishing the woodwork of the interior, with the furniture, painting, and all that had to be done. The blacksmith made iron figures and letters for the inscriptions placed on the outside walls, some of which can still be seen at the present time.

The fourth Sunday after Easter the last service was held

in the Tranhook Church. By Trinity Sunday, which fell on the fourth of June, the new church was ready to be consecrated to the worship of the Triune God. All three of the missionaries were again together, and conducted the services with all the reverence and solemnity they could command. Pastor Rudman preached the morning sermon, taking for his text: "The Lord hath done great things for us, whereof we are glad." A second service was held in the afternoon and pastor Aureen preached. In honor of the day, the church was named Holy Trinity, which was later incorporated in the charter, where to this day it remains as follows: "Swedes Lutheran Church, called Trinity Church."

In late years difficulty has arisen in regard to the proper date of its dedication. It was in the year 1699, and on Trinity Sunday. These two facts are undisputed. In the records, emphasis is laid on the festival on which it was dedicated, and it is probable that the pastor had this day reserved for a long time for this important event. The date is given in the records as June the fourth, but in transcribing the name of the month, an error has frequently been made, and June the fourth becomes July the fourth. This has led many of our church historians to go into ecstasy over the prophetic character of the day. There is some excuse for the mistake, as the writing of the word June in the original does, indeed, resemble the word July as we write it in English script. It cannot be July, however, as it was on Trinity Sunday that the event took place, and this festival never occurs as late as the fourth of July. Easter

in 1699, as we learn from papers, calenders and documents of that year, fell on the ninth of April. Counting from this date forward, we find that Trinity Sunday was on the fourth of June. July fourth that year fell on Tuesday. Other proofs can be given to substantiate this conclusion, and there can be no doubt of its correctness. It was the greatest day in the history of the Swedish colony up to this time, and we can all rejoice that we have it in its correct form.

For over two hundred years this memorable edifice has been preserved, and gives promise of standing for generations to come. The blue granite of which it is built makes it look indestructible. It reflects great credit upon the pastor and people that reared it. Since the time of its construction, two porticoes have been added to strengthen the side walls, and a belfry has been built to the west end. We give our readers a good picture of it as it appears today, with its surrounding cemetery. It is the oldest landmark of the Protestant Church in the Western Hemisphere, and inasmuch as it was built by these sturdy Swedish Lutherans, all our readers can have a just pride in the wonderful achievement.

It well deserves a visit from all who can find their way to the beautiful city of Wilmington on the Delaware. It fills the soul with reverence to walk around these ancient walls and to wander through the paths of the resting place of these departed pioneers of the Lutheran Church. It is a matter of record that Muhlenberg visited the church to attend a conference. How reverently he must have walked about these sacred walls!

At the altar of this house of worship that was so dear to him, Biorck served for almost fifteen years with great joy. He outlived both his colleagues. Rudman was the first to give way to the demands of his service, and it became the duty of Biorck to preach the sermon at his funeral, which he did in the English language, in the Wicaco Church. He based his words on the text selected by Rudman himself, Psalm 73, verse 24, "Thou shalt guide me with Thy counsel, and afterward receive me to glory." A few years later, February 17, 1713, Aureen died, and Biorck sadly notes the event with the following meditation: "And so Raccoon Creek is again without a minister, and of the three sent over here by God and the authorities, I alone remain, by the good pleasure of God, while the other two, who confidently expected to go back to their earthly fatherland, must lay their weary bones in this wilderness. What God will be pleased to do with me, time will tell. Let His will be done."

Instructions to return home to Sweden reached Biorck as early as 1709, and shortly afterwards his successor arrived on the ground. On account of his family, he could not arrange to leave for some time, and it was June 29, 1714, just seventeen years after his arrival, that his departure was made. He took with him his wife and five children, an adopted orphan child, and his brother-in-law and wife. His oldest son afterwards wrote a history of New Sweden.

Biorck continued his labors for many years in Sweden, and never lost his love for the Christina congregation. In 1728, when he was sixty years old, his picture was

painted, and a copy found its way to America. He died full of labors and crowned with honors, in 1740. In two hemispheres are the scenes of his activity and in two hemispheres does he deserve to be remembered for his noble deeds of foresight, self-sacrifice, love, zeal, and piety.

VII

THE OLDEST PLACE OF WORSHIP IN PHILADELPHIA

PHILADELPHIA is an old and honored city. The first stones of its foundation were laid in the interests of mutual prosperity, religious freedom, and civil liberty. No other American city founded in the seventeenth century can be mentioned that has a record as unselfish and untarnished as that of the City of Brotherly Love. In its relation to the Indians, in its bearing toward the settlers found on the ground, in its dealings with the members of its own community, its history is free from all oppression and bloodshed. There are two reasons for this: first, William Penn brought an honest, peace-loving people with him; and, second, he found settlers occupying the ground equally honest and peace-loving, though entirely different in language, customs, and religion.

All Lutheran readers are interested in the people who greeted Penn when he disembarked on the shores of the Delaware in 1682. They were the Swedish settlers, our religious ancestors in America. They received him with a warm welcome, helped him to unload his ships, and gave him and his companions the benefit of their forty years' possession of the land he came to occupy.

Penn bought from the three Swedish brothers, by the name of Svenson (Swanson Street of South Philadelphia is justly named after them), the land on which he wished to lay out the city of Philadelphia, giving them other land instead. The Swedes acted as his interpreter in his dealings with the Indians, and because they had taught the Indians by word and example to trust the white men, Penn was eminently successful and gained an undying name for his kind dealings with the natives. More honor belongs to the Swedes than to Penn, but Penn receives it in undiminishing quantities. It is true he was a remarkable man, but it is also true that he was very fortunate in finding these Swedish Lutherans in the New World and to them the noted Quaker largely owes his success.

For four decades before Penn's arrival the Swedes had labored to improve the material and spiritual condition of themselves and of the Indians about them. They had cleared the forests, built homes and churches, cultivated gardens and fields, planted orchards, established an extensive trade with the Indians, acquired their patois, smoked the pipe of peace, nourished the spirit of friendship and harmony with them and won their trust and confidence, so that the two races lived on friendly terms together. The Swedes had built the first house of worship on the land that became the province of Pennsylvania, and the preaching point, Wicaco, was not far from Penn's landing place. At the time of his arrival there were two Lutheran ministers in the colony, and several laymen were instructing the children and Indians in the Christian religion and in assisting in laying out lands and in preserving

and furthering the peace and welfare of the colonists. Penn was surprised to find these favorable conditions and freely and generously expressed his appreciation. In a letter to England he wrote:

"The Swedes are a plain, strong, industrious people. . . . They kindly received me, not less so than the English, who were few before the people concerned with me came among them. I must needs commend their respect to authority and kind behaviour to the English. They do not degenerate from the old friendship between both kingdoms. As they are a people proper and strong of body, so have they fine children, and almost every house full; rare to find one of them without three or four boys, and as many girls; some six, seven and eight sons. And I must do them that right—I see few young men more sober and industrious."

We are glad to have this outside testimony of the character and industry of these Swedish Lutheran settlers. It shows that we are not extravagant in our praises of them. They found a place both in the General Assembly and in the Governor's Council in the early days of the establishment of the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania and filled many positions of honor and usefulness among the people.

Lars Koch was sent to Penn's meeting held at Upland immediately after his arrival and he and Anders Bengtson, Sven Svenson and Adam Peterson were members of the Assembly. In a letter written from London, Mar. 16, 1684, Penn writes: "Salute me to the Swedes, Captain Koch, Old Peter Koch, Rambo and his son, the Svensons,

Anders Bengtson, P. Yokum and the rest of them. Their ambassador dined with me the other day."

This sudden development of Penn's colony had its influence upon the Swedes. They were now in a land that had a future and they realized that they must grow with it. Though it was all dark about them in a religious sense when Penn arrived, and their condition was now rapidly growing worse, as both their ministers were becoming wholly disabled for service, yet with the arrival of their new ministers in 1697, the bright light of day burst upon them and they kept in advance of the progress made in the colony, for it was not long before they had built one of the largest and finest churches in America. Pastor Rudman led the way and proposed to replace the block house at Wicaco with a large and substantial house of worship. The location of the Wicaco Church in Rudman's judgment was the most suitable and convenient for the people. His choice, however, met with much opposition as many of the Swedes had become so closely attached to the church on Tinicum Island, that they were determined that the new edifice should be there or nowhere. Rudman felt that this would be a great mistake. His people failed to agree among themselves and lost a whole year in discussions and dissensions. Rudman gave up in despair and left his parish, finding a refuge in the home of his colleague Biorck at Christina. They exchanged pulpits. It happened that Biorck preached on the tenth Sunday after Trinity, when taking for his subject the one suggested by the gospel of the day, Christ weeping over Jerusalem, he touched and moved the

Gloria Dei, Philadelphia

unyielding hearts of Rudman's parishioners. They agreed to leave the selection of the site to the three Swedish ministers, whom we have learned to know by name, and pledged themselves to abide by their decision. Wicaco was unanimously selected. The choice was a wise one. It was a prominent location, as near Philadelphia as the homes of the Swedes would allow, and in full view of the Delaware River, where every incoming ship could easily see the church that would be built there. A burial place had already been begun on the site.

Rudman was encouraged and lost no time in beginning the work of building the church. He could not equal the work done at Christina because the beautiful blue granite was wanting; still for the time the edifice he succeeded in erecting attracted much attention. It was of the same dimensions as the Christina Church, thirty by sixty feet, but the two corners to the east were shortened, thus giving the east end of the church an hexagonal form. It was built of brick, each alternate one glazed black. The side porticoes were added a few years later to strengthen the walls. The belfry to the west is also a later addition. It was dedicated the first Sunday after Trinity, June 2, 1700, and called Gloria Dei Church. This date is often given as July 2d, but this cannot be correct, as Easter in that year fell on March 31st. This would make Trinity Sunday May 26th, and the first Sunday after Trinity June 2d. As in the case of the Christina Church, it is an error of transliteration followed by many historians. Fortunately the mistake has not affected the life of the congregation, as the anniversary of the dedication is celebrated yearly

on the first Sunday after Trinity, irrespective of the day of the month. In 1912 it occurred on June 9th. For many years the churches at Wicaco and Christina were the largest and finest public buildings in the American colonies. For one hundred and thirty years Lutheran ministers preached the gospel of Christ within the walls of Gloria Dei Church in three languages, Swedish, German, and English, and since the death of the last Swedish minister, Dr. Collin, services have been continuously held under the auspices of the Episcopal Church.

This noble monument of Lutheran history stands in the nine hundred block of South Water Street. The rear of the church projects into Swanson Street. It has weathered the storms of over two centuries, resisted all powers of atmospheric destruction, and escaped all calamities by fire and water. May it stand for many years to come surrounded by its monuments of the departed! Homes and industries are crowding close upon it and it is not without danger of destruction by fire. It was on January 23d, in the year in which we are writing (1912) that a fire broke out in one of the neighboring factories and threatened the sacred old edifice with destruction, but by the foresight and vigilance of the brave fire-fighters the flames were driven back and the building saved, though the conflagration so near it raged furiously for several hours. What an irreparable loss the tongues of flame might have produced!

It is a building of historic interest, not only because it touches the seventeenth century (and we are now in the twentieth) but also on account of the important events that have taken place within its walls. In this respect

Interior of Gloria Dei, Philadelphia

its history is of greater significance than that of the Christina Church. Philadelphia has always been nearer the center of religious and civil activity than Wilmington, in consequence of which Gloria Dei Church has a more varied history, full of events of undying interest in the history of colonial Lutheranism. Of these significant occurrences we shall speak of but three.

Within the walls of Gloria Dei was celebrated the first Protestant ordination in America. It was a Lutheran ordination service, and no doubt it was one of the greatest acts ever performed in this house of worship. As long as there are hands to write the history of the Lutheran Church in America and eyes and hearts to read and love what is written, this memorable act will not be forgotten. Dr. Sachse thought it of sufficient importance to issue a very extensive and magnificent volume to commemorate the two hundredth anniversary of the great event.

Wednesday, November 24, 1703, the three Swedish ministers, Rudman, Biorck and Sandel, with the full authority of the mother Church in Sweden, solemnly ordained to the gospel ministry in the Lutheran Church a young German student of theology, Justus Falckner by name, for the Dutch Lutherans scattered throughout northern New Jersey and eastern New York. Please notice the array of languages, to which might be added the fact that the service, no doubt, was conducted in the Latin language, with possibly an address in English by one of the three ministers. It was a solemn, dignified service. A number of German Pietists had come from their settlement on the Wissahickon to assist in the

ordination by chanting appropriate psalms. Indians attracted by the unusual event were also in the congregation. This act speaks volumes for the love, foresight, and broadmindedness of all the brethren uniting in the service. The love for the scattered sheep of many tongues and many races appealed strongly to these early missionaries of our Church. When Rudman found that on account of the weakness of his body, produced by the ravages of yellow fever, he could no longer minister to the Dutch congregations in the vicinity of New York, he urged this German student to consent to be ordained that he might serve them. Though he had left Germany to escape the public work of the ministry, he yielded, learned the new tongue, and labored most faithfully for twenty years in this large and scattered field, extending along the Hudson from New York to Albany. Were they not noble men? They were but acting in accord with the genius of the Church to which they belonged and in harmony with the Spirit of the Master whose they were and whom they served. How we must love and admire them for their earnest concern for the scattered sheep of the Lutheran Church in colonial times!

Falckner was a talented, pious, and capable man. Before he came to America he wrote a hymn which has lived to our day and has been translated into English by several writers. It is a hymn of encouragement in the Christian warfare and is based on the words of Ephesians 6 : 10. It is No. 331 in the Kirchenbuch. In keeping his ministerial records, Falckner added prayers of a deep devotional spirit to many of his entries of baptisms, con-

firmations and marriages. He is the author of the first theological book issued in the Lutheran Church of America. It is in the Dutch language and is entitled "Fundamental Instruction in Christian Doctrine." He died in 1723. His burial place is unknown, but he still lives in the memory of grateful spiritual heirs.

From 1703 let us move forward to 1742. It is December 27th. The great patriarch of the Lutheran Church, Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, has been in America for a little over a month. He had preached for the first time in Philadelphia Sunday, December 5th. In the morning the service was held in the usual meeting place of the Germans over an old carpenter shop, and in the afternoon in the Wicaco Church.

The Swedes were at this time without a pastor and were glad to let the Germans use their sanctuary. Muhlenberg had been accepted as pastor at two of the three points of his parish, New Hanover and New Providence (the Trappe), but at Philadelphia he found a rival in the person of a certain domineering dominie by the name of Kraft. To settle the question of authority, Muhlenberg in a Latin letter requested Pastor Tranberg of the Christina Church to come to Philadelphia at his convenience and publicly examine his credentials. The time decided upon was the date given above. Kraft had also been requested to be present and show his papers, but found it convenient to leave for the country. Peter Koch, a leading layman among the Swedes, was present; and a large number of German Lutherans, among them a prominent sugar refiner, Henry Schleydorn by name, had assembled.

Muhlenberg gives the following account of the important meeting:

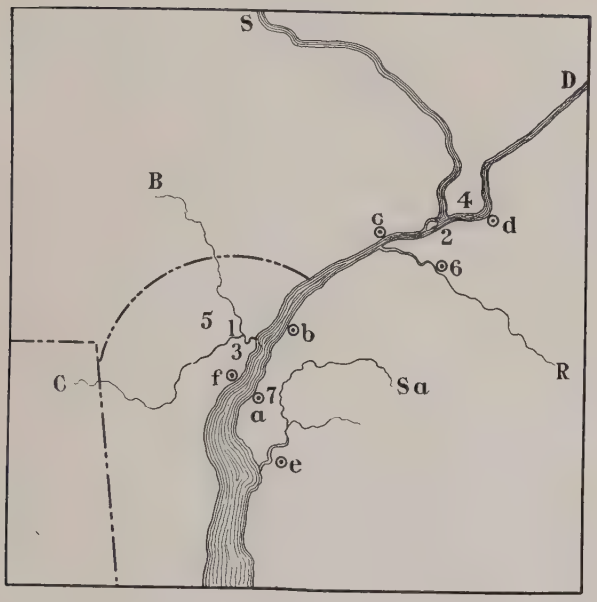
"After I had preached a short sermon, the Rev. Pastor Tranberg stepped before the altar, demanded my papers and called the deacons, elders and other members of the small Lutheran congregation that were present forward and read to them, (1) The letter and call of the court chaplain, Ziegenhagen; (2) My certificate of ordination at Leipzig; (3) My certificate of matriculation and diploma of the University of Göttingen; and (4) The acceptance of the officers of the congregations in New Hanover and Providence. He explained all these papers in the English language, as he was no ready speaker in German. He explained further, that the regular order in the Evangelical Lutheran Church is as follows: No one can be accepted as a minister and pastor unless he have a regular call and certificate of ordination, otherwise disorders might arise. They should therefore declare themselves distinctly, whether they acknowledged my call and ordination right and proper or not. The officers and several others answered that they had as much right and part in my call and commission as the congregations in New Hanover and New Providence. Mr. Koch answered, 'You have accepted the old man Kraft as your preacher.' They answered, 'We have not accepted him, neither have we given him a call, and we now wish to enjoy the services of the one sent in answer to our long-continued correspondence by the court chaplain Ziegenhagen.' Hereupon they pressed forward with joyful countenances and extended to me and to Pastor Tranberg the right hand,

and thus confirmed my call to them as well as to the other two congregations."

Thus was the great patriarch installed in his wide field of labor in America in the Gloria Dei Church, and a faithful, fruitful, unselfish, untiring service of forty-five years crowned his labors with success and proved him to be the greatest man Germany has ever sent to America.

For the third great event we must move forward once more, for the space of two years. It is now 1744, and we are in the same temple as before, in the Wicaco Church. A conference is to be held here between the Swedes and the Germans. We know the chief speakers, Muhlenberg, Tranberg, Koch and Schleydorn. Two new names must be added. The new pastor of the Wicaco Church has arrived. It is Pastor Naesman. The Swedes have also sent a Swedish minister to Lancaster to serve the German congregation there. His name is Nyberg. The object of the conference is to form a union of the Swedish and German Lutheran congregations in America. The great leader in the movement was Peter Koch. Schleydorn strongly favored the union and Muhlenberg was of the same opinion. Naesman feared difficulties on the part of the home government, for Germany and Sweden did not agree as heartily as Sweden and England. At the conference two questions were discussed, Shall a union be established? and, if so, what regulations shall be adopted for the services? In discussing the first question, Nyberg, who was a Lutheran in name but a Moravian in spirit, demanded that the Moravians should also be admitted, inasmuch as they accepted the Augsburg Confession.

Muhlenberg strongly opposed this on the gound that Lutherans accepted the Unaltered Augsburg Confession and all the other Symbolical Books. Naesman claimed that only the archbishop of Sweden could decide the question. Under the second question, Mr. Koch contended for a less extended form of service than that which was used by the Swedes, as the Germans were accustomed to a much simpler order of worship. The reason given was that if a union is to be formed minor matters must be compromised. Tranberg weakened and failed to support Mr. Koch as he had promised. Naesman contended that the Swedish regulations should be adopted, as the Swedes had been in the country the longest. He felt, too, that no other course would satisfy the home authorities. Thus no conclusion could be reached. Mr. Koch was so disappointed that he made many grievous mistakes after this in his dealings with his church and pastor. In spite of the unsuccessful outcome of the meeting, it was a great conference. A failure it was indeed for the Swedes, but for the Germans it was far different, for out of defeat developed four years later the organization of the Mother of Synods, the Ministerium of Pennsylvania. Great victories often spring from discouraging failures.



Map of Swedish Colony

C, Christina River. B, Brandywine Creek. S, Schuylkill River.
D, Delaware River. R, Raccoon Creek. Sa, Salem River.
1, Christina Fort, 1638. 2, Tinicum Island Church, 1646.
3, Tranhook Church, 1667.
4, Wicaco Block Church, 1669; Gloria Dei Church, 1700.
5, Trinity Church, Wilmington, 1699. 6, Trinity Church, Swedesboro, 1704. 7, St. George's Church, Pennsneck, 1717.
a, Pennsville. b, Pennsgrove. c, Upland, or Chester.
d, Gloucester. e, Salem. f, New Castle.

VIII

THE LAST OF THE SWEDISH MISSIONARIES

The Revolutionary War played havoc with all religious interests in the American colonies, especially with those of the Lutheran Church. It interrupted communications with the mother countries and caused great upheavels in the home congregations. Pastors left the pulpit, put on the soldier's uniform, or entered the arena of politics. Congregations were greatly weakened by the loss of members who went away to fight the battles of freedom. Many never came back and of those that returned after an absence of years the greater portion had become indifferent to all claims of religion. A new language was established in the land and Swedish was almost extinct. The German interests suffered with the rest, but were revived and reinforced by the arrival of German immigrants. No preachers could be found to supply the demand for English services, and the Swedish churches were at a great loss to know what to do. The crown of Sweden recalled its missionaries soon after the close of the war, and two of the three accepted the invitation to return home. This left two Swedish parishes vacant, and as no English Lutheran minister could be supplied, they made an amendment to their laws to the effect that their pastors might be either Lutheran or Epis-

copal. Somehow, from that time forth, they were always the latter, and gradually all the Swedish Lutheran congregations became affiliated with the Protestant Episcopal Church. Their history, lessons, and associations are ours; they can never be taken from us. The noble pioneers that labored here for almost two hundred years are ours, with the glories of their labors; not one ever left his church. The material form of the churches and their substance, their grounds and buildings, their care and preservation, have drifted into the possession of others.

One of the three Swedish ministers in America at the close of the war expressed a willingness to remain, provided he could serve the Wicaco congregation. It was so arranged, and in 1786 he became pastor of this parish and served the charge to the time of his death in 1831. He was the last of the Swedish missionaries in America, and outlived everyone that was ever engaged in the Swedish mission on the Delaware. He spent sixty-one years in the New World and reached the eighty-seventh year of his life. He became one of the most popular and widely known ministers in Philadelphia, averaging eighty-four marriages a year during his long career. His name was Nicholas Collin. The University of Pennsylvania gave him the well deserved title of Doctor of Divinity.

We are interested in Dr. Collin, not only because he is the last Swedish missionary, but also because he erected the last and the largest of the landmarks of the Swedish settlement in America. It is located at Swedesboro, New Jersey. It deserves a visit from all interested Lutherans that can reach it. Unlike the other Swedish landmarks,

St. George's Church, near Pennsville, New Jersey

its history falls in the time after the Revolution, but it is of so much interest to us that it deserves consideration in these pages. It gives us the opportunity of writing the closing chapter of the mission as a Lutheran field of pastoral activity, and of telling the interesting story of the Swedes in New Jersey. They began to cross the Delaware and settle in West Jersey before the end of the seventeenth century. They were there in considerable numbers when the three missionaries arrived, having gathered in two centers, Penn's Neck, now written Pennsneck, and Raccoon, now called Swedesboro. In the early years of their settlement the pastor of Wicaco served the people living at Raccoon, and the pastor at Christina those living in Pennsneck.

Let the interested reader accompany the writer on a visit to these two historic churches. We shall take the Salem boat at Philadelphia and ride down the Delaware past Pennsgrove to Pennsville. Here we must leave the boat. We are now on the ground hallowed by the feet of the Swedish settlers and made memorable by the fact that it is the birthplace of the first Lutheran minister born in America, John Abraham Lidenius. It was called in early times Pennsneck by the English. Less than two miles from our landing place is St. George's Church. It is an Episcopal chapel, built of brick, standing in a cemetery of about two acres. Let us take a picture of it. The tree in front of the entrance is a weeping willow. Where the chapel now stands, in the year 1717, the Swedish settlers built their first wooden church, and the present building is its fourth or fifth successor. All traces of the

Lutheran and Swedish history of the community are lost, and many of those who worship there would be greatly surprised to read this account of the history of their church. In the cemetery there are a few fallen tombstones bearing Swedish names, and they form the only reminder that remains of its Swedish founders. Penn's name is everywhere in evidence, as for instance in Pennsville, Pennsneck and Pennsgrove, but the names of those who cleared the land, drained the miasmatic swamps, breathed the malarial atmosphere and suffered from the discouraging effects of chills and fever, are nowhere to be found, except in the name Swedesboro.

Having seen St. George's without and within, and read the old grave markers, we retrace our steps and continue in a southern direction along the fine shell road to Salem. It is a pleasant walk of six miles from Pennsville. As we enter the city we pass the large oak tree over three hundred years old, of which the people of Salem are justly proud. It must have been of considerable size when Lidenius was born near here and when the Swedish missionaries passed back and forth.

At Salem we take the train for Swedesboro, and after an hour's ride in the direction of Philadelphia, we reach the beautiful city. We lose no time in finding the historic shrine we have come to see. It is on the main road passing through Swedesboro from Camden to Salem, and it is in the northern part of the city. It is in a large cemetery, which unfortunately is not kept as well as its history should inspire its present owners to keep it and to dress it. On the site where the large church stands Pastor Collin, upon

The Old Oak, Salem, New Jersey

"This mighty oak—
By whose immovable stem I stand and seem
Almost annihilated—not a prince,
In all that proud old world beyond the deep,
E'er wore his crown as loftily as he
Wears the green coronal of leaves with which
Thy hand has graced him."

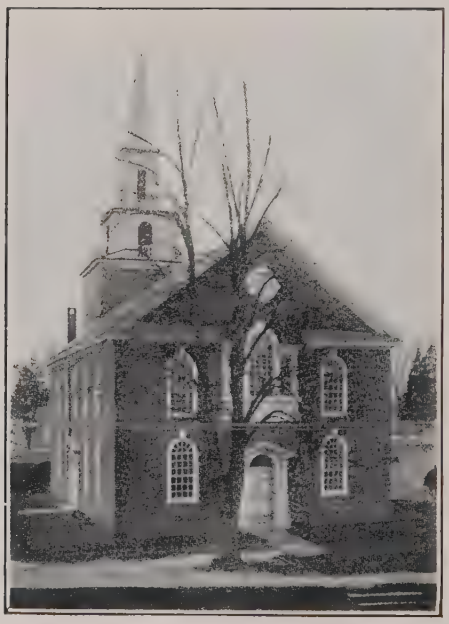
his arrival soon after 1770, found an old wooden structure which a deposed Swedish minister had built in 1704. About 1750 it was repaired and enlarged, but when Collin came it was fast falling into decay, and the roof leaked so badly that when it rained no service could he held in it. Collin soon formed the idea of building a new church, but the war broke out and every nerve of the congregation and community was paralyzed and every muscle atrophied. In the midst of his discouragements, privations, and sufferings, Collin desired to be recalled to Sweden, and he threatened to return home without official consent should the call fail to arrive soon. But he remained at his post, and when the war was over and the recall came, the faithful pastor refused to desert his field and leave his distressed flock shepherdless.

In spite of the poverty and desolation caused by the war, Collin took up the project of rebuilding the church. He met with opposition on all sides, and his officers gave him no encouragement whatever. But he persisted lovingly and patiently in the good work, and they finally agreed that he should select a committee of managers from those favoring the enterprise and willing to support it, and with their aid proceed with the work as the plans could be devised and executed.

This was a generous concession on the part of his unsympathetic officers, and Collin availed himself of the offer. They were at least willing to step aside and let him go ahead. Human nature generally obstructs the way. New troubles, however, arose as it became necessary to decide questions of dimensions and material. His com-

mittee felt that a small wooden church would satisfy all demands. Collin looked to the future, and accordingly wanted to rear a large and substantial edifice that would be a credit to the people and equal to the needs of the coming generations. He had the trenches dug according to the size suggested by the committee, that they might see what a small church their figures represented. Then he extended the lines as much as he thought safe, and told them that the dimensions were still too small, and finally they agreed reluctantly to permit him to project a church whose exterior dimensions were 41 by 61 feet, with brick walls high enough to allow for two tiers of windows. The foundation was laid and the making of bricks was begun. Collin himself made the kiln. Bad weather set in and at one time the rain ruined large heaps of bricks waiting for the fire. To save as many of them as possible, Collin took off his coat, rolled up his slevees and went to work, setting his half-hearted parishioners a good pace of Christian activity.

The work began late in the fall of 1783, and the building was enclosed by Christmas of the following year. During 1785 the carpenters were kept busy, and in March, 1786, the church was finished, at least in all its main parts. It was a great achievement for the missionary who often stood alone in this enterprise. He also attended to all the financial details, collecting all the money and paying all the bills. It was several years after the completion of the church before all accounts were settled. After he became pastor in Philadelphia, he visited the congregation until all was done and the bills paid. He has left a long,



Trinity Church, Swedesboro, New Jersey

graphic report of the building operations in the church records. It is written in English, in a large, round, beautiful hand, much like that of Muhlenberg. On the same records he entered a detailed financial statement, giving every item of contribution and disbursement and showing that the completed building cost £1310 8s.

Some years after the completion of the church, a desire arose among some of the members to have a tower added to the building. It was found that there was not sufficient room to the front, so it was built to the rear, which seems a strange place for it, but adds to its uniqueness. It is composed of brick, eighteen feet square and high enough to allow for five tiers of windows. Upon this high brick work a spire of wood, in three parts, was reared, making a steeple visible from a great distance, especially as the woodwork is painted white. A sweet-tongued bell sounds forth from its lofty height through the still air a frequent invitation to come and worship the Lord.

The church is called Trinity, and has a good location and pleasant surroundings. To the north is the large cemetery. In front of it a beautiful linden is growing, while maples and sycamores adorn its side and a grove of oaks forms a pleasing background.

Now let us enter the interior. Here we find galleries extending around three sides and the usual chancel arrangement on the fourth side. It is evident that the work of the old fathers has largely been changed, though the pews and galleries remain as they were built. Unfortunately the organ has been moved from its colonial place in the gallery to the side of the chancel. But in spite of

the alterations one is filled with a deep feeling of devotion and reverence, as he realizes that for one hundred and twenty-six years God's children have gathered to worship in this sanctuary.

Through a door at the side of the chancel we enter the tower room back of the church. Here a strange-looking key unlocks the vault built into the wall of the chancel. In this vault are kept the sacred communion vessels, the books of the old settlers bearing dates that were current two centuries ago, and especially the written records which begin with the year 1713, and contain the entries of the ministers, including Dr. Collin's valuable English records. Up to Dr. Collin's time all are written in Swedish. One of the pastors, Peter Tranberg, who was promoted to Christina in 1741, wrote his valedictory in English, as though at that early day he felt that the time would soon come when only English eyes would fall on the records. He wrote as follows, and we detect a strain of sadness running through the lines:

A Final Speech to the Reader.

I lay now down my pen and shut up the Book, having no more to write or say, but according to Ordres must go to another Parish. The Lord of Heaven be with us all, & grant that when the Records of our Stewardship shall be laid open before men & Angels, we may be found faithfull Stewards & hear that blessed Invitation, written by St. Matth. Ch. 25 V. 21, Are the hearty Prayers of your most humble Servant,

Peter Tranberg.

As we retrace our steps to the depot to return to our starting place, let us take one more long look at this noble

monument of the zeal and devotion, foresight and enterprise, courage and untiring energy of Nicholas Collin, the last of the Swedish missionaries, and let each one ask himself whether the memory of this self-denying servant of the Lord should not be held sacred? Ought not his life and work be an encouragement to our struggling Home and Foreign missionaries who must labor in a similar way to lay the foundation stones of pioneer work in the vineyard, and ought we not admire the Lutheran Church of the Old World for sending noble men like him to lay their gifts and talents and lives upon the altar of American development?

IX

A PILGRIMAGE TO THE OLDEST LUTHERAN LANDMARK ERECTED BY GERMANS

For many years the writer had treasured in his heart the hope that some day his eyes might delight themselves by gazing upon what he had learned to know as the oldest landmark of the fidelity of German Lutheran settlers in America. He had seen and admired the Swedish churches on the Delaware; his heart had been satisfied by repeated visits to the Old Trappe Church, and he had been accorded the rare privilege of preaching within its ancient walls; he had likewise visited Jerusalem Church at Ebenezer, Georgia, and preached in its pulpit; but one shrine still remained that he had not seen. History gave it the honor of being the oldest Lutheran church in America, still standing, which has been continuously used for Lutheran services.

The landmark which has this distinction in Lutheran Church history was reared in the year 1740, and is, therefore, three years older than the venerated sanctuary at the Trappe. The name of the church is Hebron, and it is located in Madison County, Virginia, some miles east of the Blue Ridge. It must not be confused with the church made famous by Peter Muhlenberg, for that is about sixty

miles west of the Hebron Church, across two mountain ranges, and in the beautiful Shenandoah Valley.

The history of the builders of this monument goes back seventeen years further than the arrival of the Salzburgers in Georgia in 1734, and the church is almost thirty years older than the Jerusalem Church at Ebenezer. This interesting shrine is seventeen miles away from the railroad station, and the pilgrimage cost the writer almost twenty-five miles of foot work, but he considered this as nothing when he thought of the long distances covered repeatedly by many of the German settlers in attending the services in this house of worship. His first goal was the Lutheran parsonage at Madison, where the weary and dusty pilgrim was soon refreshed by the true Southern hospitality that obtains in the home of Pastor and Mrs. W. P. Huddle and their children. For fifteen years Pastor Huddle has guarded the interests of this Lutheran shrine and its worshipers. He has become thoroughly imbued with the spirit of fidelity represented by the seven or eight generations that have assembled within its sacred walls, and is endeavoring to impress upon the actors now upon the scene the importance of preserving that same faithfulness to the word, loyalty to the Master and the Lutheran Church, and activity in the extension of the kingdom, in full appreciation of the rich inheritance their ancestors bequeathed to them. He has served his generation well, in that he has published an admirable history of the Hebron Church and congregation with many fine illustrations. In its preparation he spared neither expense nor labor, seeking his information at the original sources

and manifesting the true spirit of the historian by generously giving all the authorities consulted.

Under the guidance of the pastor the pilgrim was allowed to examine the old records still in the possession of the congregation. Here can be found an abundance of food for the imagination of historic minds. Here are seen the lines traced by human hands one hundred and seventy-seven years ago. Of special interest is the collectors' book, carried by the pastor, John Caspar Stoever, Sr., and two laymen, on a tour to solicit funds in Europe, with entries in five different languages—German, English, Dutch, Latin and French. Near the end of the book is an entry made by Pastor Stoever's successor, George Samuel Klug, certifying to the correctness of the accounts rendered and the money transferred to the congregation. A total of almost six thousand dollars had been collected, leaving, after deducting the expenses, nearly four thousand dollars for building a church and buying a farm for the use of the pastor. Treasurers' account books over one hundred years old, with interesting items on both sides of the ledger, are also in the collection, and are of great historic value and local interest. Farseeing wisdom has provided a place for the careful preservation of these records in the fireproof vaults of the county courthouse.

A two miles' drive the next morning over the hillsides of Madison County and through White Oak Run brought the eager pilgrim to the beautiful elevation on which the devout colonists one hundred and seventy-two years ago built their sanctuary. It is located in a grove of oaks and hickories and enclosed by a neat paling fence forming an

Hebron Church As It Is

octagon, within which locusts and maples are growing about the building, sheltering and protecting it and preventing it from having the appearance of standing alone and forsaken. Through the kindness of Pastor Huddle we give our readers a picture of the church as it appears today.

But we must enter. Through the same door through which the humble worshipers have gone for almost two hundred years, we are ushered in. The first object to catch our eye is the pulpit surrounded by pews on three sides. We crave a moment for silent thought. The lips that first spoke in this edifice, the ears that heard the message, the language in which it was delivered, are here no more; but the gospel is still the same, preached in the same faith and taught according to the same Unaltered Augsburg Confession. Externals have changed, but the doctrine remains, "One Lord, one faith, one baptism," and "The just shall live by faith." Even the walls have been altered, an annex has been added to the church and a large pipe organ installed, but the gospel and the faith are still the same.

The old fathers built a substantial frame church, fifty feet long and twenty-six feet wide, with a door at each end. The elevated pulpit was placed at the middle point of the long side and a gallery over each entrance. A small vestry room was built back of the pulpit on the north side. There is conclusive evidence for saying that this was their second church; the first one was built of hewn logs, and this may be the foundation for the impression in the minds of many that the Hebron church is a log

church. This is an error, as the present building throughout is a frame structure, made as strong and durable as it was possible at that time to make it. The nails and hinges were made in their own blacksmith shops, and the beams, joists, boards, and shingles were prepared by hand with much care. The ceiling was vaulted in a large semicircle, and the whole interior was covered with boards finished as well as could be done with the tools at hand. Later room had to be provided for the growing audiences and for the organ. An annex was therefore added to the side opposite the vestry, thus making the building cruciform. When this alteration was made the interior woodwork was torn off (alas, cruel hands!) and a flat ceiling was built across the room and the annex, excepting the south end of the annex, which was reserved for the organ gallery; the interior walls and ceiling were then plastered and later frescoed. The removal of the woodwork and the closing off of the high-curved ceiling are much to be regretted, and it would be of interest to see the sanctuary in its old form of strength and beauty. The interested pilgrim was glad to tear from the beams behind the ceiling a hand-hammered nail, and bear it away as a prize to be treasured for years to come. For our readers we have reproduced a picture of the church as it appeared when built in 1740.

Before leaving the church, let us take a closer view of the pipe organ. It was built in David Tannenberg's famous factory at Lititz, Pa., and installed in 1802. It is sixteen feet high, eight feet wide and three feet thick, made of hard and soft pine, painted in harmony with the interior

Hebron Church As It Was

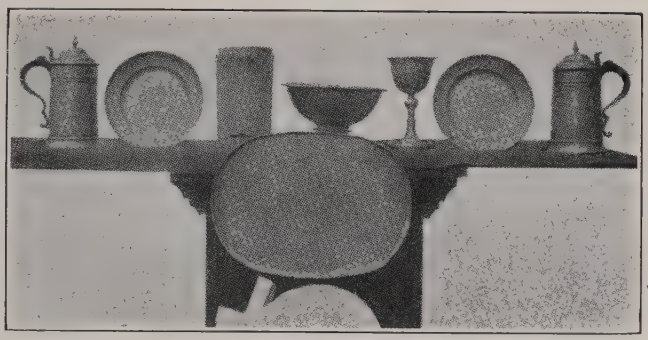
of the church. The keys are black and the sharps and flats are white. It has but one manual of four octaves, with eight stops, but no pedals. The wind is supplied by two lever pumps operated by the feet, set off from the organ and connected with it by means of a wooden conduit. The pipes number about two hundred; the half of them are metal, the rest wood. For over one hundred years the instrument has poured forth its strong, clear and melodious tones, to aid the assembled worshipers in hymning their praises to their Maker and Redeemer.

Retracing our steps, let us also visit the sacristy at the north end of the church. Here we find an old chest, which is reasonably supposed to have been brought from Europe filled with books collected by Pastor Stoever on his tour in Europe. In it at the present time are preserved the sacramental vessels. Among them are the oldest of all of the possessions that have come down to the present day in the congregation. Pastor Huddle has had a good picture made of the group. Among these, one bears the date 1727, two 1729 and another 1737. The cup bears an extended inscription, quoting the twenty-fifth verse of the eleventh chapter of First Corinthians and showing that it was presented to the congregation by Mr. Furgen Stollen of Lübeck, Germany, in 1737.

We cannot look upon these sacred memorials and a landmark old as this without reviewing the story of the pioneers who reared the landmark and preserved the sacred vessels. In the year 1717, a small band of persecuted Germans left their fatherland with the hope of finding a more happy and prosperous home in Pennsyl-

vania. Their vessel stopped at London, where the captain of the ship was imprisoned for debt. The immigrants were delayed and their condition was made unpleasant by a lack of food. When they set sail again there was much suffering from hunger and a number of them died. The ship was driven from its course and a landing made in Virginia instead of Pennsylvania. Here the pilgrims, strangers in a strange land, were sold by the captain to pay for their transportation. Governor Spottswood of Virginia advanced the money, and they were bound to him to work out their expenses by an eight years' service. He settled them near Germanna and put them to work in his iron mines and foundry. They were Lutherans and formed themselves into a congregation, but for sixteen years they had no pastor. When they were free, they took up land for themselves farther west in what is now Madison County near the eastern base of the Blue Ridge on the Robinson River. This was in 1725, and here within a year they built their first church.

What should they do to secure a pastor? In conjunction with a German Reformed congregation they sent to St. Gall, Switzerland, but in vain. About six or seven years later, upon making inquiries in Pennsylvania for a Lutheran pastor, they were directed to a man who was willing and even anxious to serve them. It seems he had gone to North Carolina some years before, had married there and was rearing a family of small children. On account of his mother-in-law, his home life was not pleasant, and he was seeking another place to live. He came



The Old Communion Service

to Virginia and found the shepherdless flock of German Lutherans. But, alas! he was but a student of theology and not an ordained minister. What was to be done? In Pennsylvania this candidate of theology had a son, who styled himself a "missionary," and had been doing "the work of an evangelist" for five years. He, too, was unordained, but recently, to his great joy, a regularly ordained minister had come from Germany and had ordained him at the Trappe April 8, 1733. The son sent the glad news to his father in Virginia and the congregation sent their candidate to the same minister, and he was likewise ordained. On the second Sunday after Trinity, in the same year, the newly ordained pastor celebrated his first communion with his happy flock.

Now, I must give you the names of these three ministers. You will meet with them again. The student of theology was John Caspar Stoever, Sr.; the missionary in Pennsylvania, John Caspar Stoever, Jr., and the ordaining minister, John Christian Schulz.

A few years ago we had no knowledge of the ordination of this Virginia pioneer. The ordination of Daniel Falckner is still a mystery. In both cases their regular ordination was taken for granted. Now we know who ordained Pastor Stoever, and some day some one will discover, perhaps by mere accident, the circumstances of Falckner's induction into the Lutheran ministry. The discovery in the case of the elder Stoever is most interesting. It is one of the fruits of the labors of Pastor Huddle, who, in examining the printed court records, made by Prof. W. J. Hinke, Ph. D., found the following items, in the accounts

of the treasurer of the Hebron congregation for the year 1733:

	£	s
By money paid to inquire for a minister in Pennsylvania....		6
By money to Sheibley for traveling to Pennsylvania with our minister to receive his orders.....		17
By money paid by George Sheibley to ye Rev'd Mr. Schulz in Pennsylvania for ordination.....	1	3
By paid our minister, John Caspar Stoever, his traveling expenses to Pennsylvania.....	1	9

These items prove conclusively that Stoever was ordained by Schulz. It is but just to state that long before these facts were established, Dr. W. J. Mann in his notes on the Halle Reports made the suggestion that in all probability the two Stoevers were ordained by Pastor Schulz. Surely this manifests an historic spirit in our beloved professor calling for our deepest admiration.

For a year and a half the pastor labored very earnestly among the people. In the spring of 1734, he was reunited with his family. His wife, mother-in-law, and children were brought at the expense of the congregation to his Virginia home. In the fall of that year he and two members of his flock made a tour to Europe and secured funds for a church, pastor's farm, schoolhouse, books for himself and the congregation and an ordained minister for his assistant. On the return journey early in 1738, Stoever died on the sea, and his body was intrusted to the waters of the deep. The pastor was no more, but the work continued. The assistant, George Samuel Klug, became his successor, the funds were properly applied, the farm bought and equipped and the church and school were

built. The latter disappeared long ago, but the church remains to be photographed and described in these pages. Pastor Klug lived here till 1764, serving his people faithfully to the end.

Klug was succeeded by Catechist John Schwarbach who was ordained by the Ministerium of Pennsylvania and became a missionary "in labors abundant." He traveled far and wide beyond the mountains, reaching territory that today is in West Virginia. Here he found the family of Justus Henkel and other Lutherans and built a church for them. In 1768 he confirmed Paul Henkel, then a boy of fourteen years. He served the Hebron parish till 1774, in which year he entered his last baptisms in the church register.

But here we must close the old records and reluctantly turn away from this interesting monument of colonial Lutheranism. Has it any interest for you, my reader? Is it not a privilege to have come into an historical inheritance like this? Does the story of the Hebron church move us to a deeper devotion to our Lutheran Zion and compel us to admire and to emulate the earnestness and steadfastness of the early settlers, who in the midst of the greatest trials, difficulties, and privations provided so well for themselves and their children in the things of their holy religion?

Let us learn to love the old landmarks erected by the Lutheran pioneers in America and take to heart the lessons of love for the Master they teach us.

This sketch will be incomplete without Emerson's touching words on "The Old Meetinghouse."

We love the venerable house
  Our fathers built to God;
In heaven are kept their grateful vows,
  Their dust endears the sod.

Here holy thoughts a light have shed
  From many a radiant face,
And prayers of tender hope have spread
  A perfume through the place.

And anxious hearts have pondered here
  The mystery of life,
And prayed the eternal Spirit clear
  Their doubts and end their strife.

From humble tenements around
  Came up the pensive train,
And in the church a blessing found,
  Which filled their homes again.

For faith and peace and mighty love,
  That from the Godhead flow,
Showed them the light of heaven above
  Springs from the life below.

They live with God, their homes are dust;
  But here their children pray,
And in this fleeting lifetime trust
  To find the narrow way.

X

THE PIONEERS THAT PREPARED THE WAY FOR THE GREATEST OF THE PIONEERS

The great patriarch, Muhlenberg, was the greatest of the Lutheran pioneers in America. His main field was eastern Pennsylvania, and on this soil for fifty years before his arrival Germans had settled. At first there were but few Lutherans among them, but later their numbers increased, and they became very numerous among the early settlers. The Germans did not bring teachers and pastors with them, but in utter forgetfulness of their spiritual needs they sought a home in the New World to escape the poverty and persecution in the Old. Only after years of destitution did they learn to realize the extent of their spiritual poverty. The help that was given them was slight. Books were scarce, school teachers were not to be found, and the preachers that pretended to teach and to preach were mere wandering wolves in sheep's clothing. Pious men and evangelists in those early days might have done much good and sowed seed that would have produced much fruit. But they had not come to America.

The earliest ministers that visited the Germans in Pennsylvania were the Swedish pastors on the Delaware. Some of them knew the German language, others learned

it, and all were in sympathy with the shepherdless flocks that were found at Germantown, Philadelphia, New Providence, and New Hanover. It is not within the scope of this sketch to speak of these Swedish missionaries, though it should never be forgotten how much the German Lutherans in Pennsylvania owe to the Swedish ministers. They are the earliest forerunners of the great patriarch, but we rightly associate them with the work of the Swedish churches. They did not allow their language to limit their usefulness and ministered in German, English, and even Dutch, besides their own mother tongue.

Among the forerunners of Muhlenberg the writer does not count the many ecclesiastical tramps that were found everywhere; as, for instance, Kraft in Philadelphia, Schmidt at New Hanover, with many more at other places. The church was unorganized, and everywhere unscrupulous men took advantage of this condition to earn a living without "the sweat of the face," and to fill their pockets with unearned gain. Many pages could be filled with accounts of their pretensions, deceptions, quackery, and thefts. Dr. Kretschmann, in his history of "The Old Trappe Church," mentions six in as many lines. By their impositions they distracted the disorganized congregations, increased the disorder and confusion, and robbed the people of their respect for the ministry and love for the Church. They were pioneers of evil, servants of Satan and slaves of the god of mammon and of lies.

Muhlenberg's real forerunners in the work in eastern Pennsylvania were not many in number, and our readers need not fear pages of hard names. When we have given

brief space to four persons it will suffice. The result of the labors of these four men was not such as to give Muhlenberg the feeling upon his arrival, that the work was done. In spite of the best efforts put forth before his time he found chaos and not cosmos. He entered upon conditions that were very discouraging, and the labors of his forerunners were not in evidence. He could truly feel that he entered upon the labors of no man. Yet what would his new field have been without the work of these four men? He would have entered a wilderness without a single path. As it was, Muhlenberg found a flock in Philadelphia, confused and distracted, it is true, still a flock; a place of worship in New Hanover, unfinished, it is true, but still a church; and a church in Germantown. Farther west, later on, he found other evidence of the labors of his forerunners. On account of the wild condition of the country, the diversity of belief among the European immigrants, the lack of books and schools, the difficulty and hardship of travel, the devastations of religious vagabonds, it was impossible to accomplish much as long as a master mind like that of Muhlenberg was wanting.

The labors of these early pioneers must not be overlooked nor depreciated. Their zeal, devotion, self-denial, courage, and endurance applied to present day problems would effect far more than we in our day accomplish. Bring their zeal and our opportunities together and what results could we not expect!

The first of the four early pioneers to be mentioned is Daniel Falckner. He was born in Saxony in 1666,

and in 1694 at the age of twenty-eight he came to America and settled in Germantown. He was the son of a Lutheran minister and studied theology in Germany. His two brothers likewise were students, and his father intended all three for the ministry. Eventually the wish was gratified, but not in the lifetime of the pious father. One of the brothers did not come to America. We know when and where the brother Justus was ordained, and that he labored as pastor in New York. But of Daniel's ordination we have no record. This however we know, that throughout a long service as a regular Lutheran pastor his ordination was not called in question. The writer is of the opinion that he was not ordained till after he began his work in New Jersey, beginning with the year 1708. As a forerunner of Muhlenberg, he labored in Pennsylvania between the years 1700 and 1708, and the writer loves to think of him as one of the faithful laymen of "ye olden times," who, as missionary and evangelist, kept the candle of the Lord burning until others arrived to hold up a clearer light. But whether as a student of theology, or as an ordained minister, or as a pastor who had simply grown into the office by the silent acceptance of those to whom he ministered, Falckner served his countrymen well, and has the honor of being regarded as the one who laid the first stone in the foundation of the history of the oldest German Lutheran congregation in America, which was organized about 1703 in New Hanover, Pennsylvania. The present pastor, Dr. J. J. Kline, has written its history, and his lofty opinion of Daniel Falckner is expressed in these words: "Although his name was overlooked for a

long time and his labors depreciated, we are glad to know that he will pass into history as that of the first regular pastor of the oldest German Lutheran congregation in America."

Falckner was the agent of a large land company, and settled Germans upon a tract of land in the Manatawney district very early in the new century. He was concerned for the spiritual welfare of these settlers as well as for their material interests, and it is the opinion of many that both he and his brother Justus held services for them. When Justus went to New York in December, 1703, his brother Daniel was left to serve them alone, except as the Swedish ministers assisted him. Daniel was a man of so much importance among his people that they named the district "Falckner's Swamp," though it is by no means a "swamp," but a very fertile and beautiful country. It is thought that a log church was built here as early as 1704.

The labors of Daniel Falckner must not be despised. New Hanover was undoubtedly the first point where a permanent organization was formed among the German Lutherans of Pennsylvania, and the work was the fruit of the earnest efforts of this noble man. He did his work well.

But in his business as a land agent he stirred up bitter enemies. They conspired against him and deprived him of all his holdings and authority. He was so discouraged over his losses that he left Pennsylvania, and Dr. Sachse has found no evidence to show that he ever returned to the province again. He labored successfully in New Jersey, both as pastor and physician. When Pastor Kocher-

thal died in 1719, and his own brother Justus in 1723, he cared for their parishes, and his field extended as far north as Albany. To the best of his ability he ministered throughout this vast territory until 1725, when Pastor Berkenmeyer arrived and served New York and the Dutch and German churches on the Hudson River. In 1729 Pastor Falckner took a prominent part in the dedication of the Holy Trinity Lutheran Church in New York City. He lived to the honored age of seventy-five, dying in 1741.

The name of the second forerunner is Anthony Jacob Henkel, who came to America as an exile in 1717. He was an ordained minister, a man well advanced in years, bringing a large family with him. One of his daughters was married to Valentine Geiger, and his family accompanied him. Pastor Henkel took up a farm of two hundred and fifty acres at New Hanover, and Mr. Geiger also secured a farm and settled there, and became a prominent citizen and a faithful deacon in the congregation. Pastor Muhlenberg buried him in the year 1762. Dr. Kline assigns two terms of service to Pastor Henkel at New Hanover, 1717 to 1720, and 1723 to 1728. His name is most frequently given as Gerhardt Henkel, but this was the name of his oldest son, who was born in Germany before 1700. Pastor Henkel is the middle link of a family chain extending two centuries back to the Reformation, and forward the same length of time in America to the eighth and ninth generations, and including almost a hundred ministers and many prominent doctors and business men. The American branch came into prominence in the fourth generation with six ministers,

New Hanover Lutheran Church, Falckner's Swamp, Pa.

the sons of one man, five of whom were Lutherans. Of these five the Rev. Paul Henkel was the greatest Home Missionary of the Lutheran Church after the Revolution. He was the father of six sons, five of whom became Lutheran ministers and one an active layman, a physician by profession, forming the beginning of a new era in the family, replete with ministers, doctors and publishers, unequaled in usefulness, unselfishness, consecration in business, and missionary zeal. This activity of Paul Henkel, his four brothers and six sons falls beyond the time limits of these colonial sketches, and therefore we must leave the story for the future.

The father of the American branch was a man of great physical strength, six feet tall, bold and courageous, true to the principles of his Church and full of missionary zeal. He is supposed to have traveled on horseback to the Germans in Virginia, and is known to have visited all the German settlements within reach of his home at New Hanover. At this place he found a log church which in a short time fell into decay. By his encouragement it was replaced by another one about 1721. In 1741 the third one was begun and finished after Muhlenberg's arrival. This, too, gave way to time and the elements, so that in 1767 the beautiful stone church, which is still standing and in constant use, was erected. We give our readers a picture of this house of worship.

It is certain, too, that Pastor Henkel preached to the Germans at Philadelphia and Germantown. If the records of his labors will ever be found in his diaries, or in the diaries of his contemporaries, it will no doubt be revealed

that he played an important part in the early history of these two congregations. Perhaps he was their founder. At Germantown a church was built in 1730 and dedicated in 1737 by the Swedish pastor, Dylander. Pastor Henkel no doubt was instrumental in encouraging the people to build this church, and after his death the Germans could find no one to dedicate it until the Swedish pastor arrived.

While on a visit to Germantown and Philadelphia, in 1728, this zealous pioneer on his return journey to his home in New Hanover, fell from his horse and was wounded so severely that he died after lingering for a number of days. He was about sixty-five years of age, and had labored in the New World for eleven years.

Upon his death his body was not taken for burial to his home, but it was brought to the newly opened God's acre of the present St. Michael's Church in Germantown, and there appropriately laid away. In 1744 his life companion died at the advanced age of seventy-three, and was buried in the same grave. We give our readers a picture of the headstone. At the top will be noticed the letters "A. H." They are the initials of Anthony Henkel. This double grave was found but a few years ago by his descendants. Their intention is at an early day to rear a suitable monument to mark this sacred spot.

In the year and month and almost the very day when Pastor Henkel died, two earnest men reached the port of Philadelphia from Germany. They entered their names as passengers, the one describing himself as a missionary, the other as a student of theology. They both had

exactly the same name, John Caspar Stoever, and they were father and son. The father is the one who signed himself as the student, and the writer has described his career in the account of the Hebron Church in Virginia. The son became an important forerunner of the great patriarch. When he styled himself a "missionary," he did not misapply the word, though it would have been of great advantage to him if he had been an ordained minister, as well as an untiring missionary.

Reaching America just at the time of the death of the only German pastor, there was a wide and unoccupied field open to him. He entered at once, and was exceedingly active in the work. He and his father labored together in Philadelphia and vicinity, but it is not long before the father is lost sight of until he reappears in Virginia. There is evidence of life and activity throughout eastern Pennsylvania, which can best be explained by the presence of leaders, but most of it is ascribed to the energy of the son, John Caspar Stoever, Jr. He was but twenty-one years of age when he arrived, but did not allow his youth to interfere. Wherever a few Germans had settled he held services for them, baptized their children, began a church record, encouraged them to build a log church, and assisted in the work, and thus he traveled from place to place, year after year, preaching the gospel and making himself worthy of his hire by exacting no fees. In this way he continued for fifty-one years, working many years after the arrival of Muhlenberg. He was in America fourteen years before Muhlenberg came, and therefore the immediate forerunner of the great patriarch. He died

while conducting a confirmation service on Ascension Day in 1779.

Whilst he was in the midst of his many labors, the one of whom we wish to speak as the fourth of the forerunners reached eastern Pennsylvania. He arrived just ten years before Muhlenberg in the fall of 1732, the year made memorable by the birth of Washington. He gave out that he was an ordained minister of the Lutheran Church, and he was believed by the people, and his acts were afterwards accepted as authentic. He spoke and acted with authority, and did everything in a businesslike way. He was bold enough to demand his pay before the service began, and allowed himself to be well paid for all his acts. In some respects he did more to prepare the way for Muhlenberg than anyone else. He united the three congregations of Philadelphia, New Providence, and New Hanover into one parish, and urged them to send himself and several members on a collecting tour to Germany for the purpose of securing funds for churches and schoolhouses, and ministers and teachers for the people. He declared himself ready to set out for this hazardous journey in the spring of 1733. Before leaving he ordained John Caspar Stoever, Jr., for the work in Pennsylvania (happy consummation for young Stoever), and his father for Virginia, thus playing the rôle of an organizer and manager in a wise way. But we fear it was all business with him. In Germany he went astray, appropriating to his own use money that he had collected for the congregations in America. Consequently he never returned, and we lose sight of him in church history. Eventually, as a

Tombstone of Maria Elizabeth Henkel

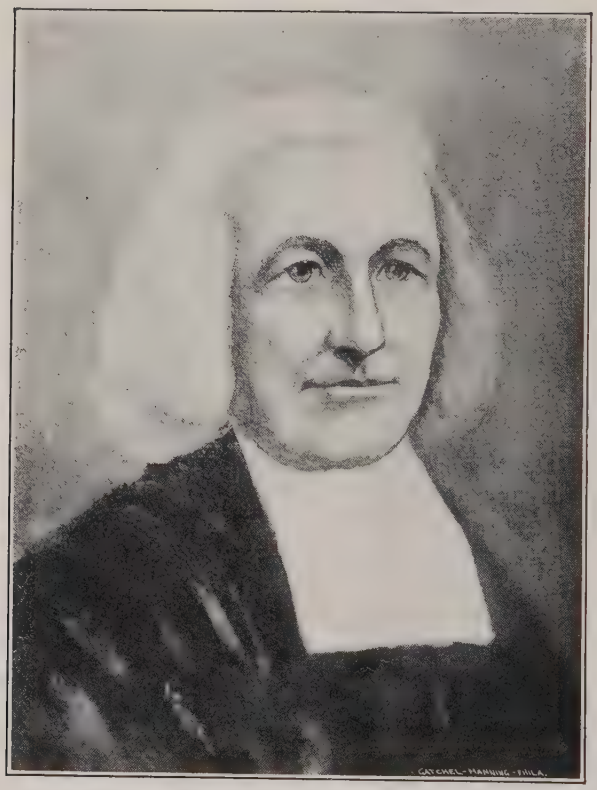
result of the letters written by the three congregations united by this man, whose name was John Christian Schulz, Pastor Henry Melchior Muhlenberg was called and sent to Philadelphia. He proved himself to be Germany's greatest gift to America, and the pioneers that prepared the way for him, prepared the way for the greatest of all the German Lutheran pioneers. His name is linked forever with the beginnings of organized Lutheranism in America.

XI

GERMANY'S GREATEST GIFT TO AMERICA

A FEW years ago Prof. Albert B. Faust, of Cornell University, Ithaca, New York, won a prize of three thousand dollars by writing the best production on the subject, "The German Element in the United States." It is a large work of two six-hundred-page volumes. In it the author gives an estimate of the value of the German immigration by considering both the readiness of the Germans to become one with the interests of the new country and the favorable influence they exerted by their untiring industry and enterprise upon the land and people of their adopted home.

By the most carefully conducted calculations Professor Faust estimates that there are over eight million Germans and descendants of Germans in our country. When we consider all this stream of humanity that for over two hundred years has been pouring into America in ever increasing volume, it must be granted that Germany has made heavy contributions to the settlement and development of our country. The influence of the Germans has sometimes been depreciated, but a careful perusal of these two volumes and of other writings on the same subject will convince any unprejudiced reader that every assertion made by Professor Faust is true.



Henry Melchior Muhlenberg

The Lutheran Church, having a membership that is in large proportion of German extraction, can claim a fair share of the good done by Germans to America. She is not alone, that is true, yet no one other portion of the German element is so large and strong as that represented by the Lutheran Church. What the Church of the Reformation has done for the good of America through her wandering children and their descendents, is beyond the power of computation. To Germany must be given the honor of making an enormous contribution to America's development, even though that contribution is an involuntary one.

Among the Lutherans that came to America from Germany undoubtedly the greatest was Henry Melchior Muhlenberg, and, we make bold to say, the greatest among all Germans that have found a home in the New World. Inasmuch as he did not come on his own account, but was sent by the German church authorities centered at Halle, we rightly call him Germany's gift, for he is more than a contribution. And we make bold to call him Germany's greatest gift to America, for he was the greatest German that ever came to America—the Luther of America. Nor is it sufficient to say that he is Germany's greatest gift to the Lutheran Church of America. He has been a signal blessing to our whole land and the greatest that has its source in Germany.

The foundation of the prosperity of a country is the Christian home.

We all remember reading the account of the Englishman who came to our country to find out where the real strength

of our land lies. He first went to New York City and examined our marts, the immense office buildings, the factories and the shipping facilities, and he concluded that it was business and commerce. Then he went to New Haven, Boston and Princeton and viewed the wonderful institutions of learning with their halls, libraries, and laboratories, and he concluded that it was education. Then he turned to Washington, the Capital of our great Republic, and looked with amazement upon the Capitol, the temples of legislation, the treasury building, and the many others equally large and massive, and he felt compelled to change his previous conclusions and decided that the strength of the American Republic must lie in its government. In the evening of the day when he beheld all these magnificent marble structures, he visited a friend and related his experience. His friend answered, "You have not yet found the true source of our strength. All the things you have mentioned are indeed important, and we Americans are very proud of them, but come with me and I shall show you where our real strength lies." They walked along the beautiful streets together for some distance and stopped at the door of a modest dwelling house. Upon entering they found a father, mother, and four children. Upon the center-table lay books and magazines that the parents evidently had been reading; the children were engaged with their school-books. Intelligent conversation made the minutes pass rapidly, and about nine o'clock the visitors noticed a restlessness among the children and there was whispering between the children and the mother, so that the father's attention was

attracted, and he said to the visitors, "Excuse me, but our children retire about this time, and before doing so we have our family prayers. You will please join us, and we can then continue our conversation." The father then took up the Bible, read a portion of its precious word, led in the repeating of the twenty-third Psalm, had each one repeat a verse of the Scriptures from memory, and offered a brief prayer, closing with the Lord's Prayer. With an affectionate "Good night," the children left the room.

After lingering awhile longer the visitors bade adieu to their friends. When they were on the street again, the American said to the Englishman, "There lies our strength, in the Christian home."

It is a true assertion, and well for us as a people if it is never forgotten. Mothers hold the key to the prosperity of America because they hold the key to the home. But that key is the cradle, for "the hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that rules the world."

Muhlenberg was a home builder. He himself, the Church in which he served his Master, the land in which he was born, all alike have ever laid the greatest stress upon the importance of the home and the training of the children within it. All his labors tended to encourage the material and spiritual interests of the fireside. No one emphasized this more than he, and in no way could he have done more for our land than by giving careful and unremitting attention to the needs of the home.

The arch that rests upon this foundation of the Christian home is the school. Germany is and has been the schoolhouse of the world, and she sent many good teachers to

our land even in colonial times. Muhlenberg had been a teacher before coming to America. He was a teacher before he was ordained and in charge of a school as superintendent when called to go to America. Upon his arrival here he spent one week in rotation at each of his three congregations, teaching school five days of the week and attending to his parish and pulpit work the other two days. He was a good teacher, as we can easily infer from his success. Country lads, strong and muscular, some of them nineteen years of age and over, came to him with their primers and spellers and he encouraged them to learn. He built a schoolhouse at the side of every church, urged the fathers in Europe to send teachers, encouraged Benjamin Franklin in the founding and establishment of the Academy of Philadelphia, acted as trustee of the provincial free schools, planned the beginning of an orphan house and seminary for the training of ministers and teachers, actually setting aside a certain plot of ground for it, and furnished a son for the presidency of Franklin College at Lancaster who became one of the leading scientists of America. Muhlenberg was a teacher in word and deed, and he left the impress of his educational labors on Church and State.

The keystone of the American arch of strength is the Church. Without religion America would be weak in its depravity. It is strong because it has granted religious freedom in its Constitution and placed the name of God on its money. Not all people support the Church, but all enjoy its blessings and no one wants to live where there is no Church. It is the bulwark of our land, and they that

have labored for the Church have labored for the land. As a worker in the Church none could be greater than Muhlenberg. As a preacher, as a pastor, as a scholar, as an organizer, he has won the admiration of all writers of his own times and especially of succeeding generations, not only within the bounds of his own Church, but writers of other denominations have voluntarily ascribed to him the greatest virtues, talents, and accomplishments. He made the wisest use of experience, endured patiently all trials and discouragements, and looked into the future with the joyful vision of a seer.

Therefore we can rightly say that in the construction of the American arch of prosperity, Muhlenberg was a very important instrument, and the greatest of all the builders that came from Germany. He may not have been the greatest individual teacher; he may not have been the greatest preacher (though we know none greater); he may not have been the greatest home builder, but all these constructive qualities were so united in Muhlenberg that we have in him one possessed of the working power of three or four extraordinary individuals.

In another respect, Muhlenberg was Germany's greatest gift to America. The temple of American independence was reared, not with square and trowel, but with gun and sword, and its principles were forged in the brain of true statesmanship. Muhlenberg was neither soldier nor statesman, but he and all his family strongly sympathized with the colonies in their stupendous struggle for liberty. He suffered many privations and brought down upon himself and his family the denunciations of British wrath, but he

remained firm in his convictions and his contributions in self-denial and self-sacrifice were very heavy. Others gave only of their means, but he is one of those who gave of his flesh and blood, for his son Peter became one of the most active generals, serving from the beginning to the end of the war. While the war was still in progress another son of the patriarch answered the call of the people to the Continental Congress. The churches served by Muhlenberg in Philadelphia united with other German churches and sent a letter to the Germans of North and South Carolina urging them to support the cause of liberty. Thus it is seen what an important factor Muhlenberg was in the founding of our American republic.

As a direct help to our country let us notice that of the three sons of Muhlenberg, two entered the service of the State and served for many years, first in Pennsylvania, and then in the Congress of the United States; of his four daughters, one was the mother of Governor Schultze of Pennsylvania; the second was the wife of the greatest preacher and scholar sent over from Germany next to her father; the third married General Francis Swaine, an officer in the army of the Revolution, and the fourth married Matthias Richards, a member of Congress, and became the mother of a long line of Lutheran ministers.

The prophecy on Muhlenberg's grave reads:

"Who and What He Was
Future Ages Will Know
Without a Stone."

It is true. His works do follow him, and his memory is growing more and more precious year by year. He belongs to the whole Church and to all the nation. Dr. Morris says of him, "He was a man of extraordinary powers and high culture, and intense devotion to his work, whose labors were probably more influential in moulding the destinies of the Lutheran Church than those of any other individual have ever been." Had he not been sent to America, he would nevertheless have become a great man, but Germany would not then have the honor of having sent her greatest gift to America in the person of HENRY MELCHIOR MUHLENBERG.

XII

THE OLD TRAPPE CHURCH

FEW of our readers living in eastern Pennsylvania have not seen the Old Trappe Church. For years it has been the Mecca of lovers of colonial history, and every summer the special services held within its ancient walls attract many worshipers, visitors, and pilgrims. It is practically the only material landmark of the labors of the patriarch of the Lutheran Church in America. His literary and prophetic monuments have been more graciously spared and preserved; as, for instance, his Halle reports, diaries, journals, autobiography, his plans for a seminary, and his suggestions for a common service. His greatest material work no doubt was the erection of the large and beautiful Zion church that formerly stood at Fourth and Cherry Streets, Philadelphia. It was built of brick, over one hundred feet long and seventy feet wide. It was dedicated in the year 1769. For years it was the largest and most magnificent church in the province. In it Congress held its service of thanksgiving upon the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown and also the memorial service at the death of Washington. Many years ago it gave way to the onward march of business and commerce. Its successor is the beautiful brown stone church on Franklin Street. This makes the Old Trappe Church the more interesting and its preservation the more important. May the actors

now on the scene of activity heed Solomon's injunction, "Remove not the ancient landmark which thy fathers have set." The generations which have worshiped within its walls have loved it and admired it. I fear those who pass by from day to day or gaze upon it as they enter the new edifice of worship do not realize what this temple meant to those who lie buried in the God's acre beyond the church, nor what this mute monument signifies to all true lovers of history.

Strange that the first church that Muhlenberg built should be the one to withstand the elements of destruction and the encroachments of traffic the longest. Fortunately this is the case, as the building at the Trappe is the first one that the patriarch planned to erect. At New Hanover the members were using a new, though unfinished block church, and at Philadelphia so much difficulty was experienced in securing a lot, that the work at New Providence was in advance of the work at Philadelphia, and the Trappe church was used six weeks before the Philadelphia church. These facts make the Old Trappe Church the more dear to our hearts and lead us to rejoice over the good fortune that loving hands and a kind Providence have preserved it to our generation.

In connection with his fourth service, held in the barn at the Trappe in January, 1743, Muhlenberg first spoke of building a church. His suggestion met with a prompt response. He urged the building of one of stone, as he had noticed that wooden buildings were of brief duration in America. The members of the New Hanover congregation were using their third building, and it seemed

that the time of a wooden structure was scarcely twenty years. To use stone would add to the labor and expense of the work, but Muhlenberg made them feel that it would be the wisest course, inasmuch as they were building for themselves and their children. The history of the erection of the Old Swedes Church at Wilmington, Delaware, was repeated. Stones were quarried during the winter months and hauled on sledges to the place selected for the building. With the opening of spring the work of laying the stone began and on the second day of May the corner stone was laid. On this occasion the pastor preached a sermon from one of the minor prophets. It was a most happy choice of text and we shall quote the words in full. "But it shall be one day which shall be known to the Lord, not day nor night; but it shall come to pass, that at evening time it shall be light." After the sermon he made an address in English, for the benefit of those who had not understood the sermon. He had been in America but five months, and how was it possible that he could make an address in the English tongue? He had wisely begun the study of English in his university course at Göttingen, and even there acquired sufficient knowledge of the language to write an essay of considerable length in English. On his way to America he stopped several months in London. This stay gave him the opportunity of getting a practical knowledge of the language. On board the vessel crossing the ocean he often spoke to the passengers and crew in English on Scriptural subjects and held services for them. The first address that he delivered on American soil was in the English language and spoken near the city

Old Trappe Church

of Charleston on his way to Savannah. This shows us how well equipped Muhlenberg was for his work in America. Later on he learned to understand Swedish and to preach in Dutch.

At the time of the corner stone laying the church was named Augustus Evangelical Lutheran Church, in honor of Augustus Herman Francke and his son, Gotthilf Augustus Francke, the founders of the famous Halle Orphan House and the World's Missionary Institute, and the friends and promoters of the Canstein Foreign Bible Society founded in 1710.

The foundation of the church was made large and substantial. The measurements were fifty-four feet long and thirty-nine feet wide. The walls were built high enough for galleries. The building was covered with a hip roof and the south end was made semi-hexagonal in shape. The north and west sides were furnished with porticoes. These features give it a peculiar colonial appearance all its own. The building stands parallel to the pike, called at that time the Great Road.

The work of construction from the time of the laying of the corner stone continued without interruption. Most of the labor was performed by the members, and when the harvest called them away from this work, the women and children took their places and carried mortar and stone and prepared the shingles. Their love, devotion, and activity greatly cheered the heart of the pastor. The church was built of a beautiful red stone, still found abundantly in Montgomery County. It remained in this condition until the year 1814, when a spirit of liberality

manifested itself among the devoted people, and the walls were covered with a very durable plaster. At the same time many other improvements were made within and without the building.

The friends and members of the Old Trappe Church have never failed to appreciate the wonderful services of the Rev. Ernest T. Kretschmann, Ph. D., pastor of the Augustus congregation from 1889 to 1895, rendered by him in the preparation of an excellent history, called "The Old Trappe Church." It is a model for congregational histories. The work displays the fine historic taste and spirit of the writer. Its accurate statement of facts and fine illustrations make it very valuable for future generations.

The Lutheran Church of America owes much to the Augustus congregation for protecting this ancient landmark against destruction and preserving it as a monument. Not only the walls have been preserved, but its internal appointments as far as possible. The officers have also had regard for the safekeeping of the records and other valuable treasures. A few years ago a safe was bought in which the minute books, pulpit Bible and sacramental vessels are kept. Dr. Sachse's picture of these relics is so fine that we feel compelled to have it reproduced for the benefit of our readers.

The records go back to the year 1730, when John Caspar Stoever, Jr., made his first entry. Some of the vessels are gifts of friends in Europe.

It was with great joy that Muhlenberg held his first service in the new sanctuary, September 12, 1743. Its walls were still bare and the seats few and rough. The

Historic Vessels and Pulpit Bible at the Trappe Church

ground was covered with "puncheons," as they called the rough-hewn logs that formed the flooring. Though unfinished, it was infinitely better than the old barn. It took two years longer to finish it and get it ready for dedication. The glad day of consecration was October 6, 1745. Muhlenberg was no longer alone. In the preceding winter helpers arrived from Halle and were present to assist in the joyful services. Another one was also present who had driven away his loneliness. Muhlenberg had wisely married. His bride was a young American woman, who made an excellent helpmeet for him. Her name was Miss Anna Maria Weiser.

The finished structure had cost £293 15s. 3½d. Six years later this sum was considerably increased by the purchase of a pipe organ and the erection of a gallery for it. The organ was secured from Germany through the medium of Gottlieb Mittelberger, who had brought over an organ for St. Michael's at Philadelphia.

In connection with the services of dedication, Muhlenberg baptized three negro slaves. They received the names John, Jacob, and Thomas. Did ever anything come of this baptism? Only eternity can tell how much it meant. Still the earthly records give one sequel at least. Twenty years afterwards, when Muhlenberg lived in Philadelphia, John brought his own child to him to have it baptized as he had been. When we read of these cases of the interest the early pioneers in New York, Pennsylvania, and Georgia took in the spiritual welfare of negroes, we feel as though the Lutheran Church ought to have many adherents among the members of the black race.

A hundred years rolled by and the church was still standing. In the meantime three wars had passed over the province and commonwealth of Pennsylvania. The temple of worship had been by force more than once turned into a hospital and its surrounding fields into grazing grounds for war horses. The country had become a free land. The Augustus Lutheran Church was still throwing open its doors and the German tongue still resounded within its walls, interspersed with regular English services. The close of the first century was suitably celebrated in the pastorate of the Rev. Henry S. Miller. The Rev. J. W. Richards, a former pastor and a grandson of the builder of the church, was invited to deliver the anniversary address. He chose for his text Ps. 78 : 2–8, and under the title of "The Fruitful Retrospect," gave an excellent historical sketch of the church. He himself was intensely interested in the early history of the Lutheran Church in America and contributed many articles of lasting value on historical and biographical subjects. His "Fruitful Retrospect" was published by request of the Trappe congregation, and is still extant in a few copies. Two of them have found their way into the hands of the writer, and he prizes them very highly.

The centenary celebration was indeed a fruitful occasion, as it greatly encouraged the people and made them realize the value of their church. It was beginning to be too small, and some felt as though it should be removed and a larger building erected. But love and devotion preserved it, and when the larger church was built in 1852 this noble landmark was spared and the new church

found a very suitable place at its side. In 1860 the old church was suddenly threatened with destruction. The elements of the heavens turned their forces upon it and a large part of the roof was torn off, but the walls withstood the assault, and the lovers of the sanctuary once more came to its relief, especially the Rev. Dr. William Augustus Muhlenberg, an Episcopal rector and philanthropist of New York, a great-grandson of the patriarch, and by their liberality repaired the damage done and otherwise improved it. At the reopening the rector, upon invitation of the people, came and made the address. It was afterwards published, and a copy is in the possession of the writer. This visit of Dr. Muhlenberg made a very deep impression upon him, and he never lost his love for the Old Trappe Church and the work of his ancestors and kinsmen.

When another fifty years had passed by after the centenary celebration, Dr. Kretschmann was the pastor, and under his leadership the sesqui-centennial of the building of the church was fittingly celebrated. Two services were held simultaneously both morning and afternoon, one in each sanctuary. At the morning service in the new church Dr. J. Fry preached the sermon. The chief service in the old church was fittingly conducted in the German language and Dr. Spaeth preached the sermon. Dr. Fry is a child of the Old Trappe Church and Dr. Spaeth was one of the foremost German speakers of his day. With this celebration it was decided to hold public service in the old church every summer, and it was the good fortune of the writer to conduct the first of these services. His text for the day was, "Remember the

Lord afar off and let Jerusalem come into your mind." This was in the summer of 1894.

This historic shrine has been honored by many prominent visitors. Washington was there October 5, 1777. He did not come to attend a service, for the church was then used as a hospital by the American soldiers. He came to see the sick and wounded and spoke words of tender concern to them. He came frequently to the church, and no doubt was personally acquainted with Pastor Muhlenberg, for his son Peter was one of Washington's intimate friends. One more prominent visitor we must mention, the poet Longfellow. When he was there we do not know, but that he sank deeply into the spirit of the history of the old monument is evidenced from the words of the poem he placed in his collection of "Poems of Places." We shall conclude this sketch with this beautiful and appropriate selection.

THE HOUSE OUR FATHERS BUILT

In the heat of a day in September
We came to the old church door,
We bared our heads, I remember,
On the step that the moss covered o'er.
There the vines climbed over and under,
And we trod with a reverent wonder
Through the dust of the years on the floor.

From the dampness and darkness and stillness
No resonant chantings outrolled,
And the air with its vaporous chillness
Covered altar and column with mold,
For the pulpit had lost its old glory,
And its greatness become but a story,
By the aged still lovingly told.

THE OLD TRAPPE CHURCH

O'er the graves 'neath the long waving grasses
In summer the winds lightly blow,
And the phantoms come forth from the masses
Of deep tangled ivy that grow,
Through the aisles at midnight they wander,—
At noon of the loft they are fonder,—
Unhindered they come and they go.

And it seemed that a breath of a spirit,
Like a zephyr at cool of the day,
Passed o'er us and then we could hear it
In the loft through the organ pipes play.
All the aisles and the chancel seemed haunted,
And weird anthems by voices were chanted
Where dismantled the organ's pipes lay.

Came the warrior who, robed as a colonel,
Led his men to the fight from the prayer,
And the pastor who tells in his journal
What he saw in the sunlight's bright glare,
How a band of wild troopers danced under
While the organ was pealing its thunder
In gay tunes on the sanctified air.

And Gottlieb, colonial musician,
Once more had come over the seas,
And sweet to the slave and the patrician
Were the sounds of his low melodies;
Once again came the tears, the petition,
Soul-longings and heartfelt contrition
At his mystical touch on the keys.

There joined in the prayers of the yeomen
For the rulers and high in command,
The statesman who prayed that the foeman
Might perish by sea and by land:
And flowers from herbariums Elysian
Long pressed, yet still sweet, in the vision
Were strewn by a spiritual hand.

There were saints,—there were souls heavy-laden
With the burden of sins unconfessed.
In the shadow there lingered a maiden
With a babe to her bosom close pressed,
And the peace that exceeds understanding
Borne on odors of blossoms expanding
Forever abode in her breast.

Then hushed were the prayers and the chorus
As we gazed through the gloom o'er the pews,
And the phantoms had gone from before us
By invisible dark avenues,
And slowly we passed through the portals
In awe from the haunts of immortals
Who had vanished like summer's light dues.

O Church! that of old proudly flourished,
Upon Thee decay gently falls,
And the founders by whom Thou wert nourished
Lie low in the shade of Thy walls;
No stone need those pioneer sages
To tell their good works to the ages:
Thy ruin their greatness recalls.

The Lutheran Church in Salzburg

XIII

THE SALZBURGER EXILES IN GEORGIA

PROBABLY the colony of purest form and most permanent character planted on American soil was the one established by the Salzburgers in Georgia in 1734, known as Ebenezer. There were many others, both commercial and religious, but they were either dispersed by enemies, disrupted by internal troubles, absorbed by new settlers, or lost in the change and development of their surroundings. Ebenezer preserved its colonial character unchanged by incoming or surrounding influence longer than any other American colony.

The Salzburgers were Lutheran exiles driven from Austria, and were so called because they came from the province of Salzburg. This province lies directly east of Bavaria and was formerly under the rule of German princes, and therefore the people speak German. The Tyrolese Alps run through the province, and it is supposed that the Waldensians, driven from their homes in early centuries, followed the line of the mountains and found a refuge in Salzburg and other provinces of Austria, carrying the seed of the gospel with them. When the Reformation broke out over Europe, Austria remained a strong Catholic country, but in Salzburg there was a prepared soil for the teachers from Wittenberg and many became

earnest followers of the standard of justification by faith alone. The treaty following the Thirty Years' War gave many countries of Europe religious freedom, including Austria. But a ruler arose in Salzburg who cared nothing for treaties, but only for the Roman Catholic Church. He determined to rid his province of everyone who would not be a Catholic. Then follows a story of command, enforcement, compulsion, prosecution, imprisonment, oppression, persecution, banishment, want, suffering, separation of husband and wife, of parents and children, loss of books, home, property and country, and exile, with all its sorrows, hardships and deprivations, that cannot be told here. With sorrowful realization of their meaning, many pious Salzburgers sang the words of Luther's hymn:

"Take they then our life,
Goods, fame, child, and wife;
When their worst is done,
They yet have nothing won,
The kingdom ours remaineth."

To them came in the strongest manner the words of Holy Writ, "For unto you it is given in the behalf of Christ, not only to believe on him, but also to suffer for his sake."

Expelled from the land they loved, they scattered all over Germany and penetrated even as far as Holland. The Lutheran cities and states received them with open doors and lovingly cared for them. King Frederick William of Prussia provided homes for thousands of them in the eastern part of his realm where their descendants are found to this day. The English people invited others

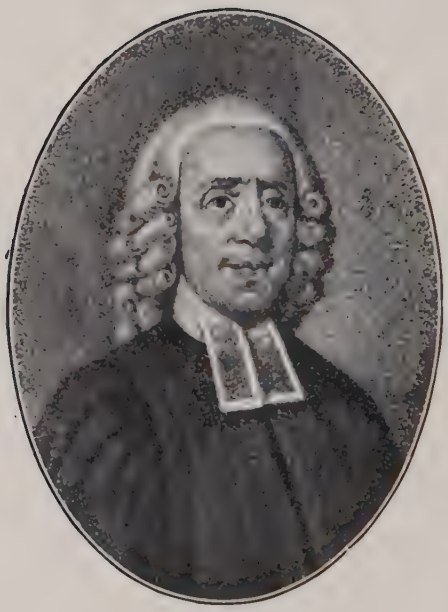
to accept a home in the new province of Georgia, established by General James Oglethorpe.

The pastor of St. Ann's Lutheran Church at Augsburg interested himself in the American project and collected a number of exiles in his city. He appointed teachers for the children while the preparations were under way, and prepared the adults for the celebration of the Lord's Supper by holding daily services. Wagons were secured for the transportation of the baggage and the women and children, and thus they journeyed to the banks of the river Main, where they all embarked, and reaching the Rhine sailed down the grand and majestic stream till they came to Rotterdam. The journey from Augsburg to Rotterdam consumed four weeks. It was a great pilgrimage. The historians, Bancroft, Stevens, Strobel, Jacobs and many others grow eloquent as they dwell upon the heroic courage and sublime faith of these pilgrims.

At Rotterdam the two pastors that were to accompany them to their new home in America joined them, and the candidate of theology who had come with them from Augsburg bade them farewell and returned to his home. Baron von Reck was in charge of the emigrants by appointment of the king of England, and guided them in all material matters. He was a wise and pious man and eminently fitted for the position. Their two spiritual leaders were educated at Halle and were ordained for the purpose of accompanying the exiles as their permanent pastors. They were both young men of sterling spiritual character, and proved themselves to be excellently adapted for the hard work they were called to perform.

The leader of the two was John Martin Bolzius. He remained their guide and shepherd for thirty-two years. The second was Israel Christian Gronau, who stood faithfully at the side of the chief shepherd to his early end in 1745.

From Rotterdam the exiles went to England to await the leaving of their vessel for America. Pastor Bolzius began his journal Thursday, November 7th, the day he and his companion left Halle. After reaching England he found that his calendar was ten days in advance of the one used in England, and he therefore changed his reckoning from the new style to the old. Germany adopted the new calendar in 1700, but England continued to use the old till 1752. The days of waiting were spent by the pastors in teaching the people things temporal and spiritual, and fortifying them for the trials of the journey before them. The Lutheran pastor of London visited them, as well as many English officials. While here they were asked to swear allegiance to the English crown. Finally, Tuesday, January 8, 1734, their vessel, "Purisburg," under Captain Coram, set sail from Dover. The journey from this time lasted just about two months. The pastors held daily services for the passengers morning and evening, unless prevented by storms. Tuesday, March 5th, land was seen from the masthead, and on the following Thursday Pastor Bolzius was carried to Charleston in a sloop. Though so early in the spring the gardens and fields were green and everything looked very inviting. Bolzius found a number of German Lutherans in the town, who promised to come to the Salzburger settlement for the purpose of



Pastor Bolzius

receiving the Lord's Supper. The printery in the town was run by a German by the name of Timotheus. Here, to the surprise and joy of all, General Oglethorpe met them. He was about to return to England for additional colonists, but when he heard of the arrival of the Salzburgers he at once sent fresh meat, water, and vegetables on the boat and provided the ship with a pilot. He promised to return to Savannah in a few days to aid the newcomers. Sunday, March 10th, the "Purisburg" first came in sight of the green outlines of Georgia. The waters were calm, the sky cloudless, the air serene, and joy filled the hearts of the pious pilgrims. They sang their hymns of praise with unusual heartiness and edified themselves with the word of God. Pastor Bolzius spoke to them on the gospel for the day. It was Reminiscere Sunday, and the lesson for the day relates how the Saviour, weary of oppression, left his homeland in Galilee and crossing the borders went into the coasts of Tyre and Sidon. In like manner they had left their home weary of persecution, and were now about to touch the shores of a strange land. That night their vessel ran on a sand bar, in the mouth of the Savannah, and their hearts sank. All day Monday was spent in painful watching and waiting. That night the Lord, in His kind providence, gave them the help of both wind and tide, and about ten o'clock the boat floated off into the deep waters of the river. There the pilot anchored until Tuesday morning, when with great joy they sailed up the Savannah to the city which Oglethorpe had founded the year before. By noon they began to disembark. Tuesday, March 12th, is therefore a day of great historic importance

among the Salzburgers. It marked the end of their long and perilous journey and the beginning of bright prospects of religious freedom and material prosperity.

Their reception at Savannah was a very cordial one. Cannons were fired and the settlers all rushed to the boat landing and received the new arrivals with open arms. Tents were erected and all were temporarily cared for in a hospitable manner. In a day or two Oglethorpe arrived from Charleston, and a party was formed for the purpose of locating the colonists. In this company were Oglethorpe, Baron von Reck, Pastor Gronau, Dr. Zwifler, and several Indian guides and hunters. They selected a site twenty-five miles north of Savannah, on the banks of a creek, and out of gratitude named both the location and the creek Ebenezer. This place is three or four miles south of Springfield, the county seat of Effingham County. When visited a few years ago by the writer it was still unmarked, and nothing could be found to serve as a relic of the old settlement except a piece of burnt clay, which no doubt formed a part of a bake oven. The site calls loudly for some monument or tablet, lest the historic spot be forgotten by coming generations.

Immediately upon the selection of the site, able-bodied men were sent in advance to clear the place and erect sheds for dwelling places. To each colonist was given fifty acres of ground for his house, garden, and fields, and provisions until he could provide for himself and family. The first structure of a public nature that was erected was a shed for school purposes. In this they also gathered for their daily and Sunday services.

In less than a year the number of the colonists was increased by the arrival of the second transport, under the leadership of Mr. Vatt. The third transport came a few years later in the care of Baron von Reck. The fourth transport under John F. Vigera arrived in 1741. It was the last addition of Salzburgers coming in a company. After this they arrived in small groups, as in the case of a family that came in the same boat with Muhlenberg. After the Salzburgers had labored in their American home for two years, they concluded that their location on the banks of the Ebenezer Creek was not a favor- one, and with General Oglethorpe's permission they moved six miles east to the banks of the Savannah. With much labor and many hardships they re-established themselves in their new home, which with unchanging gratitude they called New Ebenezer.

Here again, just as soon as their plain cottages of boards and planks were finished, they built a shed for the school and for the public services and meetings. The impression has been created that the first public building erected by these pious pioneers was a church. But this is wrong. They never neglected their worship, but they used the schoolroom for their sanctuary. Not even after the schoolhouse was built did they begin the erection of a place of worship. Another project was in their minds and hearts. It was an orphan house, after the pattern of the great Halle institutions, that they desired to bring into existence. There was a great need for it, and they rested not until their hopes were realized. Early one morning, November 14, 1737, the workmen called at the house of

Pastor Bolzius and informed him that they were ready to break ground for the home. He accompanied them and with a Scripture lesson, prayer, and sermon ground was piously broken for this noble enterprise. When it was done, a large frame building stood in their colony, of which they could feel justly proud. It was forty-five feet wide and fifteen feet deep, two stories high. Each floor was divided into three rooms. To the rear of the building were a kitchen, bake oven, stable, hennery and other smaller buildings.

It was dedicated with much joy and thanksgiving January 10, 1738, and the superintendent, Ruprecht Kalcher, with his family and the orphans he had gathered about him in his home, entered the new institution of mercy. It was the first Protestant orphanage built in the colonies, and it was in operation two and a half years before Bethesda, Whitefield's orphanage near Savannah, opened its doors. It had many distinguished visitors, among them Muhlenberg, Oglethorpe and many English officers of Savannah, and in particular George Whitefield, who was known throughout all the colonies as a preacher and philanthropist.

This home was always spoken of as an orphanage, but a better name would have been an asylum for all cases of need. From the start orphans and widows were cared for within its walls. At the time of Whitefield's visit there were seventeen orphans and three widows in the home. In addition to these, the sick were received. Mothers who could not be properly cared for in their bare homes found a welcome here. A man troubled with sore eyes was shel-

tered and treated here for a long time. The Salzburger family that crossed the ocean with Muhlenberg, consisting of parents and three small girls, were kept here for a whole year on account of the father's poor health. A converted Jew was in the colony, a tailor by trade. He was afflicted with tuberculosis and begged to be allowed to live in the orphanage and sew for the colonists as he was able. His joy and gratitude knew no bounds when the request was granted. His name was Solomon Levi, but upon his conversion he changed it to Johann Gottfried (John Godfrey), for he said, I must "praise Jehovah" (John) for the "peace of God" (Godfrey) I have found in the Christian religion.

This building continued to be used for its varied purposes of mercy until the improved conditions of the colony no longer demanded an asylum of this kind. It was then enlarged and used for school purposes. This was in 1750.

The first church building in the colony was dedicated October 1, 1741. A year later the second church was built three miles south of Ebenezer for the benefit of the colonists living on plantations along the road to Savannah. The first was called Jerusalem Church and the second Zion. These became favored names among the Salzburgers.

In the meantime the town of Ebenezer grew and the people became firmly established. The town was well laid out. Church and orphanage stood at one end and the cemetery was located at the other. Three streets ran parallel through the town, and two intersected these three

at right angles. Good roads were built and a mill stream, with rice stamper, saw mill and grist mill, was constructed. Farm, garden, and orchard rejoiced the hearts of the colonists with their products. The neighboring Indians befriended them, and no one from without interfered with the regular operation of the settlement. Pastors, schoolmasters, and doctors worked harmoniously together to the great joy of all. Ebenezer was, indeed, a true and complete colony, continuing uninterruptedly in its workings according to its established purposes of religion, education, and life.

XIV

PROSPERITY AND ADVERSITY AMONG THE SALZBURGERS

When the first twenty years of the Salzburger settlement at Ebenezer, Georgia, had passed by, the colony found itself at the highest point of its growth and development. The number of the original settlers had been increased by the arrival of three transports of Germans from Wurttemberg. With these a third missionary had been sent to the growing colony. His name was Christian Rabenhorst and he arrived in December, 1752.

The era of prosperity began fully ten years before this climax was reached and was marked by the first visit of Muhlenberg in October, 1742, and extended to the death of the senior pastor in 1765. After the beginning of the French and Indian War in 1755, immigration ceased and the colony experienced no further growth from without, but the internal peace and prosperity continued for ten years more.

In this era of twenty-three years the colonists enjoyed material prosperity. They had learned to cultivate their fields successfully. They understood the soil and knew what to plant. Their equipments had improved, and the results were much better than in former years. At the saw mills they prepared lumber for trade through the port

of Savannah. Their grist mills were a source of profit on account of the large amount of cereals brought for grinding. Settlers came from a distance with their corn, wheat, and rye and gladly paid for the work done. They also operated rice hullers and stampers and reaped some profit from this source. They paid particular attention to silk culture and built a large mill in the colony. Their income from the silk industry for a number of years was considerable. To this day a few Salzburgers make silk fishing lines. The colonists built a long causeway through the swamp on both sides of the bridge over Ebenezer Creek and for many years derived large revenues from tolls. This causeway still forms an important link in the Savannah-Augusta Road. The people in the colony lived in comfortable homes, surrounded by trees and flowers. The houses were usually one and a half stories high, with overhanging roof in front and often in back, which formed comfortable and convenient porches.

Prosperity, too, was enjoyed in all educational matters. Schools were built alongside of every church and teachers employed for each one. The pastors assisted in the school work, teaching when regular teachers could not be secured and imparting religious instruction in all the schools at all times. Some of their schoolmasters became prominent men in the colony and province in after years. Vigera, the well-known teacher in the parochial schools of Philadelphia, began his career as teacher at Ebenezer. Dr. Mayer, the surgeon of the colony, assisted as teacher and laid the foundation of the education of the young man who himself became a teacher in the colony and later

A Salzburger Home

was elected the first governor of Georgia under the constitution. His name was John Adam Treutlen. Wertsch and Waldhauer, two of the best informed men when Muhlenberg was in the colony in 1774, had both been teachers in their earlier days.

But above all the Salzburgers lived in the enjoyment of spiritual prosperity. The number of churches had increased to four. In addition to these, services were held by the pastors as often as possible at Purysburg and Savannah. At Ebenezer they conducted services every Sunday two or three times and held an evening service every day. Communion was celebrated every six weeks. In the churches erected to accommodate the people living on the plantations to the north and south of Ebenezer, services were held every other Sunday and several times during the week. Farmers left their fields when the church bell rang and attended the week day services in their working clothes. The result of these frequent services was an enlightened and pious people. They lived in contentment and godliness and regarded their home in the wilderness of Georgia as a very pleasant place to live and a most blessed place to be in time of sickness and death. Pastor Bolzius described their condition truthfully in these words: "In great solitude and Christian simplicity, they have the means of salvation to prepare themselves for a blessed eternity."

Beginning with December, 1752, there were three pastors in the colony. For thirteen years these faithful men labored most harmoniously side by side. Usually two lived in the town and one on a plantation to the south

of Ebenezer. Every Tuesday morning the three pastors held a conference to the spiritual uplift of all three. They discussed the work that had been done, consulted in regard to the work that was to be done, read letters that had come from Europe, Pennsylvania and other points, considered Biblical, doctrinal, and practical questions, and with much earnest prayer and loving conversation they exemplified the words written in Psalm 133, "Behold, how good and how pleasant it is for brethren to dwell together in unity."

This condition of spiritual prosperity and harmony among the pastors was enhanced by their frequent correspondence with the missionaries laboring in Pennsylvania, especially Muhlenberg, Brunnholtz, Handschuh and others and the reading of the printed reports of their work and of the labors of the missionaries in India. It must not be forgotten that at this time Halle issued publications at irregular intervals, consisting of reports, letters, and diaries received from the Halle ministers in India, Pennsylvania, and Georgia, and these were sent to all three fields for the information and encouragement of their laborers. Muhlenberg's letters and reports were of particular interest to them, for he was a personal friend of the colony. He never forgot the week he spent at Ebenezer, and when he wrote to the pastors there his vivid recollections of his pleasant experiences and of the happy condition of the people manifested themselves in every letter. In one of his letters to Pastor Bolzius, he went into ecstasies over the blessedness of Ebenezer in these words: "O dear Ebenezer, how many advantages dost thou possess over

other places! Here is one faith, one church, one denomination! Here shepherd and sheep are close together. Here body and soul are provided with material and spiritual medication. Here justice and righteousness prevail, wickedness is punished and virtue rewarded, the young hear only what is good and see only examples that are worthy of imitation. O precious flock, fear not, but know the time of thy visitation and consider what belongs to thy peace!

> 'Hasten on, hasten on,
> Zion, hasten on in the light.'"

Bolzius broke out in the following strains in one of his flights of joy: "O precious Ebenezer (I must exclaim!), how blessed art thou that thou, in spite of thy severe afflictions and trials, art buried so deeply in the hearts of so many servants and children of God, and especially in the heart of the venerable Samuel of our time (Dr. Samuel Urlsperger of Augsburg). These most highly esteemed fathers and benefactors rest in the heart of Jesus, and there likewise is thy abode. How well it is with thee, therefore, even though like Bethlehem thou art small and despised in the world!"

* * * * * * * * * * *

There was also adversity in the colony. In fact, it was never wanting. For many years there was a decided prosperity, in spite of adversity, but the time came when adversity increased to such large proportions that it well-nigh crushed the colony. Sickness, improper food, ma-

larial fevers, frequent visits of the angel of death, long and hot summers, storms and freshets, wild animals, all united to prevent perfect conditions. Wars and rumors of wars caused them a great deal of fear and excitement. Inasmuch as Georgia was the bumper colony between the Spanish possessions to the south and the English provinces to the north, Ebenezer was scarcely ever without the rumors of wars. Booming cannon were frequently heard in the direction of Savannah and alarm spread throughout the colony immediately. The French and Indian War disturbed the colonists frequently and caused them much trouble. At times a number of their men were compelled to serve in defence of the province; others had to stand on guard on the outskirts of the colony. While these rumors never proved serious, they were always the cause of much worry and trouble to the peace-loving Salzburgers.

It was not till after the Revolution had broken out that the real distress of war seized the colony. The sympathies of the people were on the side of the cause of American liberty with few exceptions. They regularly sent their delegates to the popular assemblies at Savannah, by which an independent government was established early in 1777. Three companies of Salzburgers were formed and sent forth to fight for independence. At the end of 1778 the British entered Georgia and early in January of the following year Ebenezer was occupied by British soldiers. One of the Salzburger pastors, Triebner by name, had become a tory and led the enemy into the town. The peace and prosperity that had been enjoyed for so many years were

gone. The Salzburgers were driven from their homes, their houses and barns were destroyed, their plantations ruined, their mills and bridges burned or else allowed to fall into decay. Valuable papers were hurriedly buried, but they rotted in the swampy ground. For two years and a half the enemy and their local sympathizers and supporters had possession of the town. The trenches and breastworks are still seen to the northwest of the church. When the tide of war turned and the British had retreated, Ebenezer was left desolate and the stricken town never recovered. Its moral ruin was equal to its material desolation. The Salzburgers were scattered for miles in every direction and in later years erected chapels near their homes, as they were too far away to attend services at Ebenezer. There are at this time three parishes, with three ministers and ten congregations, besides the two in Savannah, that are made up largely of descendants of these settlers in Georgia.

While Ebenezer was suffering from the rumors and ravages of war, its trials were increased by the loss of its pastors by death. The first one to depart this life was the junior pastor, Gronau, who died January 11, 1745. His place was filled in course of a year by the arrival of Pastor Herman H. Lemcke, who proved as faithful and efficient as his predecessor had been, and by his earnestness averted the distress that otherwise would have come to the colony. The death of Pastor Bolzius, November 19, 1765, brought the intensest grief to the heartbroken flock. Bolzius had been everything to the people and had served them as a father, teacher, and guide in all things material

and spiritual, and though there were two other ministers in the colony, yet it was well-nigh impossible to fill his place. Pastor Lemcke did not long outlive the senior pastor. His death occurred April 4, 1768. His body was laid at the side of Gronau and Bolzius in the Jerusalem cemetery. This is clearly shown by the record of his death in the church register still in existence and by the diaries of Muhlenberg. These details are here given because the date of his death has not heretofore been known and the place of his burial is wrongly supposed by the Salzburgers of the present generation to be in Zion cemetery.

With the death of Pastor Lemcke the real internal troubles of the colony began. The adversity of the Revolutionary War would not have been so distressful if it had not been for the troubles consequent upon the death of this faithful servant. The sad story must be told briefly. When Lemcke died Rabenhorst was the only missionary left in the large settlement. He was a good and pious man, loved and respected by all, fully able to take up the reins that his predecessors laid down. The fathers in Germany sent Christopher F. Triebner as first pastor, so Triebner understood; at least he came to be the first pastor and not as an assistant. He arrived late in 1768 or early in 1769, young, ambitious, impetuous, dictatorial, supreme. Rabenhorst had been a minister in the colony for sixteen years, and no one could understand why this young man should presume to override his superior in years and service. It became extremely unpleasant for the older pastor, and parties were formed, Triebner finding a following among the relatives of his wife, whom he mar-

ried soon after coming into the colony. Each side laid its complaints before the fathers at Halle and Augsburg, and as a result Muhlenberg was commissioned with full power to visit the community and settle the difficulty. He arrived in October, 1774, just thirty-two years after his first visit. He spent three months in the congregation, hearing, seeing, questioning, warning, exhorting, pleading, till at last all things were seemingly reconciled. But reconciliation could not last, for Triebner at that time at least was a bad man, and a few months after Muhlenberg's departure acted so shamefully and disgracefully that he was deposed by the congregation. But he continued to serve them as he got the opportunity. After leaving the colony with the retreating British army in 1782 and making his home in England, he settled his accounts with the Halle authorities to their satisfaction. The Lutheran pastors at Philadelphia received letters from him as late as 1796. Pastor Rabenhorst was heartbroken over his undeserved troubles. He departed this life, as we learn from Muhlenberg's diaries, December 30, 1776, and was buried in the cemetery at Zion Church. The body of this worthy man lies buried in the woods and his grave, unmarked save by a brick wall about the lot and a sycamore tree at its side, is known to few. At his side lies the body of his faithful wife, who lived three years longer, and in her widowhood wrote many letters to Muhlenberg. Would it not be fitting in loving gratitude to bring the dust of this worthy servant of the Lord and that of his faithful spouse from its lonely place in the woods and lay it "till He come" at the side of his colaborers in the Jerusalem cemetery at Ebenezer?

Of the five ministers that served the Salzburgers during the time covered by these sketches, Triebner was the only one that was selfish and disloyal. The four others in good days and in evil days were faithful to their Master and loyal to their people. Let us repeat their names in the order of their departure: Gronau, Bolzius, Lemcke and Rabenhorst. Muhlenberg knew all of them personally, except Lemcke, and praised them very highly for their sterling worth and unselfish service. As a mark of appreciation the descendants of the Salzburgers have erected a monument in the Jerusalem God's acre to their blessed memory. They were good men and deserve to be remembered by a grateful posterity.

Jerusalem Church, Ebenezer, Georgia

XV

THE SALZBURGER LANDMARK

ALONE like a sentinel stands the Jerusalem Church on the banks of the Savannah. The only noise that the worshiper hears while in the venerable sanctuary is the blowing of the steamboat whistle on the river. The railroad is eight miles away. Nearby, running through the solitude past the cemetery, is the Savannah-Augusta Road, which has lost its prestige on account of the construction of two parallel roads. Here once flourished Ebenezer, the second town in Georgia, and later the county seat of Effingham County, but now no dwelling house is within two miles of the former site. Rows of moss-bearded cedars and ancient crape myrtles still mark the location of the erstwhile prominent town, and stand guard over the old and venerable shrine. Not far away to the northwest empties the sluggish Ebenezer into the Savannah and adds to the historic interest of the place. Between it and the church are seen the remains of the Revolutionary War, the boat landing where Muhlenberg made his departure in 1742, and the spring which for centuries has been the agreeable resort of deer and catamount, of Indian and Caucasian.

The Jerusalem Church is said to be the only public edifice of colonial times that remains in the State of

Georgia. This seems strange, but all buildings in the early days of the province were built of boards and planks and disappeared long ago. A few private dwellings still exist among the Salzburgers and elsewhere, but these too are fast passing away. The public buildings in Savannah have given way to larger and more substantial structures and the location of prominent places is marked by tablets and monuments.

April 21, 1911, was a day of interest in the history of this landmark, for on this day its historic significance was commemorated by the unveiling of a tablet erected by the Georgia Society of Colonial Dames of America. It is a beautiful bronze tablet, two feet wide and eighteen inches high, made by the Tiffanys of New York. It is affixed to the inner, riverside wall, between the two middle windows. The inscription is as follows:

†

TO THE GLORY OF GOD
IN MEMORY OF THE
SALZBURG LUTHERANS
WHO LANDED AT
SAVANNAH, GEORGIA, MARCH 12TH, 1734
AND BUILT THIS
JERUSALEM CHURCH
IN 1767–1769
ERECTED BY THE GEORGIA SOCIETY OF
COLONIAL DAMES OF AMERICA

Two facts are here commemorated, the landing of the Salzburgers and the building of this historic church. It is fitting that both events should be mentioned in this permanent manner, and the patriotic women that erected the tablet can congratulate themselves upon the suitable and correct wording of the inscription.

The account of the arrival was given in a previous sketch and it remains for us to speak of the building of the church. It is well known that this is not the first church that was built at Ebenezer. After using their first frame sanctuary for nineteen years, it was enlarged and improved in 1760. In this remodeled form the church was used until the present brick building was erected. The pastors in the field when the work of building the new church began were Lemcke and Rabenhorst. The latter lived five miles away from Ebenezer on his plantation, and the burden of the work of construction must have fallen mainly on the shoulders of Pastor Lemcke.

The story of the building of the church cannot be told in detail, for the facts and circumstances are recorded in letters and reports that lie hidden in the archives of Halle and Augsburg. When once the story can be written, it will prove to be one full of love, self-sacrifice, and persistency in the face of untold labors and distressful difficulties. The pit is still pointed out where the clay was secured and where with their own hands they made the bricks. Tradition says that men, women, and children labored, the children carrying the water and the women the bricks and mortar for the men. After the work was well under way, their leader, Pastor Lemcke, died. His death put a

stop to their efforts for a time and greatly delayed the completion of the church. They deeply mourned the loss of their pastor, and with much grief laid his body in the Jerusalem God's acre, at the side of his fellow-laborers, Gronau and Bolzius. But with stout hearts the work was soon resumed, for Pastor Rabenhorst came to their rescue and proved himself an efficient leader. And when at last, after two years of hard labor, the time came for the laying of the last brick, he carved on it with much care before it was burned the triumphant date 1769, and had it laid in the apex of the northwest gable. Over the belfry the symbolic swan, dear to the heart of every Salzburger, was put in place. And then the church was dedicated. What a happy, joyful occasion it must have been, but the account lies hidden with other matters of great interest in the archives of Germany. No written or printed report has been seen by the writer.

Into the belfry they put the bell given years before by Whitefield. In later years a larger one was secured, and ever since the two bells call the worshipers to the services. During the Revolutionary War the soldiers made a target of the swan on the spire; years afterwards, in a fit of improvement, it was removed and replaced by a weather vane It is said to have found its way to the museum at Savannah. One of the daughter churches in building their house of worship in the railroad town of Rincon thoughtfully used the swan for the finial of its spire. Out of appreciation for this act of historic fidelity the writer photographed the church so as to show the emblem and now gives it to our readers.

The Lutheran Church at Rincon, Georgia

It was a wonderful structure the faithful Salzburgers had suceeded in erecting in their settlement to the glory of their heavenly Father, whom to serve in purity and truth they had left home and native country. Its exterior measurements are fifty by seventy feet, built high enough for two tiers of windows, with the intention no doubt of arranging a gallery on three sides of the interior. However, there is a gallery only across the short side opposite the pulpit. A tile floor was laid over the whole building. The walls are twenty inches thick.

That it is still standing is a marvel. It has weathered the storms of almost a century and a half and withstood the ravages of three wars, in two of which it was used and abused for hospital and stable purposes. Stranger still that time and the change of conditions have not stilled the voice of the messenger in this house of prayer nor altered the faith of the parents and children that for five succeeding generations have worshiped within its walls. Here the great patriarch, Muhlenberg, preached and communed; here his son, Colonel Peter Muhlenberg, came in 1776 as a devout and interested visitor while his Virginia regiment was at Savannah; here the patriarch's wife and little daughter, Mary Salome, the ancestress of a long line of Lutheran preachers, worshiped while on their visit to Ebenezer; here, at the suggestion of Muhlenberg, Christian Streit, a Lutheran chaplain in the Revolution, worshiped, and, perhaps, preached in 1778; here also John Adam Treutlen served as deacon and imbibed the doctrine that gave him a character that fitted him to become the first governor of Georgia, and then in the days

of his banishment and final martyrdom strengthened him for the torture he had to bear unto death. This landmark is a monument of the "lofty piety and Christian heroism of those who in the maintenance of their religious principles suffered the 'loss of all things' and have furnished an example of patient endurance under every form of persecution and of ardent zeal in the cause of Christ." The story of their fidelity to the true faith forms "one of the brightest pages in the history of the Church since the days of the Apostles."

The assertion can be safely made that if it had not been for this permanent church home, the Salzburgers and their descendants would have been scattered to the four winds and lost to the Lutheran Church. But they heeded the words spoken of old by the prophet Jeremiah, "Remember the Lord afar off and let Jerusalem come into your mind." The Church formed a center that never lost its magnetic power, and though for many years the effort was made to preserve that power by means of the gospel preached in the German language, yet it was entrusted to a new tongue just as soon as the old fathers felt that it could safely be transmitted to a new language. That time came far too slowly in the estimation of the present generation, but a kind Providence saved the history of these Lutheran exiles and their descendants for the Church which they loved and for which they suffered far more than we are willing to suffer at the present time.

During the year 1913 the large memorial church at Springfield, Georgia, is to be dedicated. Its corner stone bears the following inscription:

THE SALZBURGER LANDMARK

HOLY TRINITY
EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN CHURCH
ERECTED 1909
IN MEMORY OF THE SALZBURGERS
WHO LANDED AT EBENEZER 1734

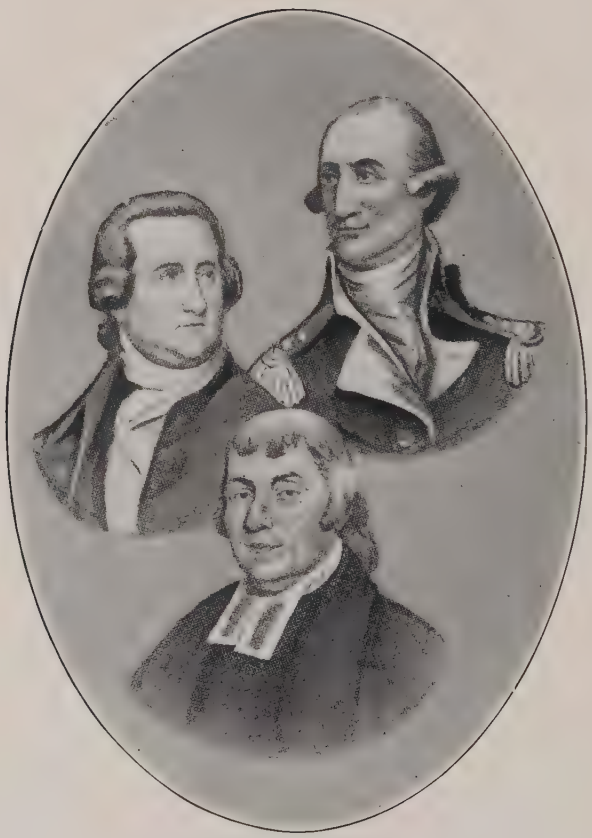
It is a commodious brick building, about the same size as the Mother Church, and makes an appropriate monument. Of the ten Salzburger churches, it is the one that is nearest the original settlement at Old Ebenezer, and it is located in the most important town occupied by Salzburger churches outside of Savannah. It is another proof of the vitality of the love and fidelity of the children whose fathers, driven from home, found a refuge and an asylum in the New World and left their posterity an undying inheritance of faith.

XVI

THE PIONEERS EDUCATING THEIR SONS FOR THE MINISTRY

The first Lutheran minister ordained in America was Justus Falckner, a German; the first Lutheran minister born in America was John Abraham Lidenius, a Swede; the first Lutheran minister born, reared and ordained in America was Jacob van Buskirck, a descendant of early Danish settlers in upper New Jersey. The last is the first one that comes within the range of the subject of this sketch. It is true that Lidenius was born in America, but while he was yet a boy his father returned to Sweden and there educated his children. After his ordination the son came back to the home of his mother and labored among the Swedes on the Delaware as their pastor until his death, finding a last resting place in Pennsylvania.

In this sketch we are interested in American students educated by the pioneers, so we must begin with Van Buskirck. He was born in 1739 and ordained at New Hanover in the fall of 1763. The way he received his course of instruction illustrates fairly well how the early pioneers labored to educate candidates for the ministry in their days of limitations and difficulties. First he spent four years under the private care of his pastor, Rev. J. A. Weygandt, in New York, for in those days many a par-



Major General Peter Muhlenberg
The Hon. Frederick Muhlenberg
Dr. Henry Muhlenberg

The Three Distinguished Brothers who as Boys went to Halle

sonage was made a schoolhouse. Pastor Weygandt prepared him for Princeton College, and after spending some time there he was received into the home of Muhlenberg at the Trappe, for the purpose of studying theology. He practically became a member of Muhlenberg's household. He studied under his patron and assisted him in his work of teaching and preaching. The people of New Hanover desired to have him for their regular pastor, and he was therefore ordained for them in their church by Muhlenberg and his colleagues. The Swedish Provost, Dr. Wrangel, preached the sermon in the ordination service. Van Buskirck labored faithfully in Eastern Pennsylvania till his death in 1800, filling important pastorates like Macungie and Allentown.

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The real difficulties of education in provincial times began to present themselves to Muhlenberg when his own boys reached the age when they needed something more in the way of learning than could be obtained in the parochial schools of Philadelphia. At this time the oldest of the boys was nearly seventeen, the second past thirteen, and the youngest not yet ten. What to do was a problem in the household of the father, especially since he saw in his boys gifts of mind and heart that made him feel that they could render the Master acceptable service in the ministry. It was his prayer that the Lord might use all three of them and open the way for their preparation. Finally he reached the conclusion that he would send them to the University of Halle for their classical and theological train-

ing. We can easily imagine that it was very hard for their American mother to give her consent to a plan so severe as this, as it demanded a separation for at least six years. No doubt she contended that the Academy of Philadelphia might be made to serve the purpose. But in the mind of the serious father there were two considerations that he felt outweighed all other arguments; namely, the need of the German language on the part of all Lutheran ministers, and also the need of Lutheran theology. Both of these would be obtained in Germany but lost at the local academy. It was true then, as it is now, if we want Lutheran ministers, our sons must be sent to Lutheran schools.

April 27, 1763, was the sad day the three boys left the parental roof, and the mother's tears flowed profusely, and no doubt the father's too, for it was a tremendous undertaking, more so then than it would be at the present time. But the father commended the care of the boys to a friend who had the same journey to make, and urged the oldest boy Peter to take good care of his younger brothers. The second son Frederick took young Henry by the hand and off they went into days and weeks and years all dark to them.

When they reached Germany the two older boys were sent direct to the school, and the friend and guide started off for a visit to the father's home at Eimbeck with little Henry. On the way the heartless fellow deserted the boy and left him to trudge along alone to find the way the best he could. The brave boy did not give up, but continued his journey on foot, and when he came near to Eimbeck,

tired and footsore, feeling that he must soon give up in despair, a sturdy villager took the little stranger on his shoulders and carried him the rest of the way to his relatives, whiling away the time and diverting the wayworn boy's mind from his weariness by relating interesting stories.

Soon afterwards he was reunited with his brothers at Halle, and the work of studying began in earnest. For awhile all went well, but Peter soon became restless under the strict discipline and yearned for freedom. He had a strong fondness for hunting and fishing, that he inherited from his grandfather Weiser. His love for books was not as great as it should have been, and in this he differed from the other two boys. He was, therefore, apprenticed to a druggist for a term of six years, but, becoming disgusted with his confinement and limited opportunities for satisfying his inborn proclivities for outdoor life, he ran away and enlisted with a company of German soldiers, called dragoons, passing through the town for the purpose of securing recruits. He was made secretary of the regiment, which shows how well he fitted in his new environment, but his acts caused much grief at home when the news reached Philadelphia. Through the kindness of a British colonel, whom the father had met in America, Peter's release was secured from the German dragoons and he was brought to his home. Three years had passed since he left, and oh! how the hearts of mother and father leaped for joy when they saw their wayward boy once more. They soon learned that there was no use of worrying over this son Peter; it was only necessary to give him a chance to work out his own future.

Now let us return in haste to the two brothers left at Halle, faithfully pursuing their studies. After they had been at school a short time, no doubt before their guardian brother left them, they found another American student. This greatly surprised them. He had left his American home for the same purpose they had, and they discovered that their fathers were intimate friends. To what extent their common land of birth formed a bond of union and friendship among them we cannot say, for the other student had been there for ten years; still we love to think that they frequently met and encouraged each other, and formed a friendly and sympathetic trio of American students. The name of the other student was Gotthilf Israel Bolzius, the son of the first pastor at Ebenezer, who was earnestly endeavoring to have his son educated for the holy ministry in spite of all difficulties. It demanded of father and mother that they be separated from their son for life. When the father was nearing his end in 1765 it rejoiced his heart to learn that his son had passed his trial examination for ordination. When we meet him for the last time in print, after his father's death, he is assistant pastor of one of the Lutheran churches near the university. We do not know how long he lived, but it is certain that he never returned to his native land.

The interests of this trio of young American students met once more just before the Muhlenbergs finished their six years' course. Dr. Francke, the life and spirit of the Halle institutions, died in September, 1769, and a memorial volume of great beauty was issued soon after his death, giving a sketch of his life and character, and containing

many tributes of esteem, written mostly in poetic form by professors, students, relatives, and friends. Among these tributes is one over the joint name of Frederick and Henry Muhlenberg, and another by young Pastor Bolzius. Both are in the form of poetry and express the sincere gratitude and deep appreciation of the writers. The tribute written by the Muhlenbergs consists of fourteen stanzas of four lines each in perfect rhyme and meter. The appropriate thought is expressed that they also mourn who have come from distant shores to see the noble friend, as though they had left the fruitful banks of the Delaware, that they should taste more deeply the bitter sorrow of his departure than they could were they in Philadelphia.

The circumstances made young Bolzius feel the death of Dr. Francke very heavily. In his tribute of esteem he sets forth that, born on the banks of the Savannah in Georgia he was made an orphan by the death of his father, but the departed took his father's place. Now, he continues, left an orphan a second time, there is none to fill the vacant place. In touching terms he deplores his loss and gives expression to the highest regard for the sterling qualities of the departed teacher and friend, and feelingly commends the weeping widow to the grace of God.

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When Peter Muhlenberg reached his home in Philadelphia, a new trio of American students was formed. First there was Peter himself, who at last had become serious and was applying himself with commendable zeal to the study of theology. The second was Christian Streit, of Swiss extraction and a child of one of the Luth-

eran congregations in New Jersey. He took a classical course at the Academy of Philadelphia and studied theology privately at the same time. The third was Daniel Kuhn, the son of a prominent Lutheran physician of Lancaster. These three sons of earnest pioneers studied theology under the supervision of Muhlenberg and in the home of Dr. Wrangel, the Swedish Provost.

Of these three students Daniel Kuhn was never ordained. He was repeatedly licensed to preach and assisted in Philadelphia and New York. He followed his teacher to Sweden in 1770 or 1771, and upon his return again assisted in various ways, and in 1774 he was recommended by the church council of the Wicaco church to the authorities in Sweden for ordination, but his health seems to have failed, and in 1779 the Patriarch refers to him as having departed this life.

Christian Streit began to preach in 1768, and was ordained October 25, 1770. His activity and usefulness in Church and State demand a separate sketch of his life in these pages.

Peter Muhlenberg, after preaching for eight years, served in the American army throughout the Revolution, and rose to the rank of Major General. He is one of the pillars in the Temple of American Liberty and therefore a separate sketch will be devoted to the career of this loyal Lutheran preacher and patriot.

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Frederick and Henry Muhlenberg returned from Halle after their course was completed. September 22, 1770, is

the happy day of their arrival. They were ordained a month later in a class of four. Frederick at once took up active work in the ministry and before long was pastor in New York City. His ability to preach in German and English was of great value to him. Here he planned in 1774 to organize the second Synod, but the war broke out, the British entered New York, and the young American patriot had to flee for his life. He found safety with his father in Philadelphia and later at the Trappe. Here he assisted his father at New Hanover and other inland points until 1778 or 1779, when the voice of the people called loudly for his assistance in the public forum. First he was elected to the Continental Congress, and then to the State Assembly, over which he presided for two terms. In 1783 his father had hopes of seeing him return to the pulpit and accept a call to the Ebenezer charge in Georgia, but, alas! the young man, fired by the principles of the Declaration of Independence, could not resist the promptings of patriotism and withdraw from his political career. Though he never returned to the pulpit, he faithfully retained his place in the pew and frequently was sent by his congregation as a lay delegate to the meetings of Synod. He was elected to positions of honor and trust and was President of the State Convention that ratified the new Federal Constitution in 1787, and when it went into effect two years later served as a member of the House of Representatives for three or four terms. He was Speaker of the First and the Third Congress. Thus it will be noticed that in this honorable body he held the position later filled by such

well known statesmen as Reed, Cannon and Clark. It is a matter of record that he presided with much dignity and marked ability, and always cast a deciding vote with supremely good judgment. The Lutheran Church can be justly proud of the important part her loyal sons played in the great and lasting work of establishing the American Union.

Henry Muhlenberg began his active career in the ministry in Philadelphia, and he was at his post when the British entered the city in 1777. He made his escape with the greatest difficulty. The Muhlenbergs were marked men on account of their decided sympathy for the cause of liberty, and whenever the British drew near they had to flee for life. Henry disguised himself as an Indian, and robed in a blanket with his gun on his shoulder, though almost betrayed by a tory, he finally found his way to his father's home at the Trappe. During his enforced idleness he devoted himself to the study of nature, and when his brother Frederick entered the political arena he assisted his father, and in 1780 was called to the church in Lancaster, where he labored in the ministry to the time of his death in 1815. His was a most useful and earnest life, and he became distinguished in three departments of professional activity, in the ministry, in education and in science. In recognition of his profound learning and his distinguished services in the ministry he early received the title of Doctor of Divinity. In educational circles he took a prominent part, and in 1787 was elected the first President of Franklin College, Lancaster. In science he ranked high as a botanist, and has been placed by the side of

such world-renowned men as Linnæus and Von Humboldt. He discovered, described and classified over one hundred species of plants. He found many new varieties of willows, among them the American bay willow and the heart-leaved willow. The yellow chestnut oak bears his name in the Latin scientific catalogue.

These were among the first of our American Lutheran students and they acquitted themselves nobly. There are others, but these must suffice as examples of earnestness and fidelity among the pioneers and their children. They did their part in their day and generation; let us do ours in a time far more favorable and advantageous.

XVII

THE PIONEERS HELPING TO LAY THE FOUNDATION STONES OF THE TEMPLE OF LIBERTY

Christian Streit

It is well known that the Lutheran pioneers and their children were staunch supporters of the cause of American independence. They gave material aid in money and service toward the rearing of the Temple of Liberty. They spared themselves in nothing, but willingly contributed of their wealth, shouldered their guns, unsheathed the sword, endured the hardships of imprisonment, suffered the plundering devastations and depredations of the tories, poured out their lifeblood on battlefield and in hospital, and yielded to martyrdom that the temple might be reared and abide.

> "No nation saved, no wrong redressed
> Without some flow of willing blood."

Should any one of my readers have allowed himself to form the wrong impression that the Lutheran Church is a foreign church, let him erase it from his mind forever. The Lutheran Church is a charter member of the American Republic by right of creation. Her members helped to make the American Union. Her children were here in the field, liberty-loving in spirit and dauntless in courage,

Christian Streit

and vigorously threw their sympathy and support on the side of the American colonies. Her farmers deserted their farms to take up arms, her ministers left their pulpits and served as chaplains, or as soldiers and officers; her deacons and magistrates rushed to the legislative halls, as they were called by the people, and aroused the colonists to action to defend their liberties and to satisfy their inborn love of freedom and justice.

Captains gathered companies in Lutheran congregations and led them to the front; a father and his son in Virginia, members of the Old Hebron Church, served throughout the war and at its close the son became a Lutheran minister; the German regiment of the Valley of Virginia, often praised in history, was mainly formed among Lutherans; the Salzburgers organized three companies for active service; the company of German Fusiliers of Charleston consisted of members of the German Lutheran congregation, and the pastor of the church had three sons in its ranks. Our Lutheran soldiers endured the great hardships and privations of the war with their fellows, "frequently subsisting," as one of them relates, "two or three days without their rations, and then receiving only a meager allowance of corn meal, which they would hastily mix with a little water, and, after covering it with oak leaves, lay it on a bed of warm coals until it was baked, and then partake of this homely meal with the greatest of zest."

We know of one Lutheran minister that served as chaplain in the army and no doubt there were others; a Lutheran colonel soon became a Brigadier General, and then

rose to the rank of Major General; a Lutheran governor sacrificed his property and life on the altar of patriotism in behalf of American liberty. They were men who by their means, prayers, skill, valor, patience, bravery, endurance, courage, and sufferings not only helped to lay the foundation stones, but after peace returned by their wisdom and counsel aided in the rearing of the glorious temple upon the foundation built by their zeal and patriotism.

In this sketch let us tell the story of the chaplain in the army of the Revolution. He led his regiment in prayer to the throne of grace to plead for the establishment of the Temple of Liberty.

Among the Lutherans of New Jersey, twenty-five to thirty miles east of Phillipsburg and Easton, there was a sturdy pioneer by the name of John Leonhard Streit. He was an officer in one of the German congregations on the Raritan, earnest, faithful, and loyal. He loved his church so deeply that in the year 1753 he made a journey of seventy miles to bring the Patriarch Muhlenberg to his home church for two weeks. His father is said to have come from Switzerland. Muhlenberg speaks very highly of him and of the hospitality of his home. Here there was a little son. He had good parents and excellent grandparents. They gave him the name of Christian, after his grandfather and because they hoped that some day he might be called to be a minister of Christ. His parents and grandparents watched over him very carefully, and when he was old enough they sent him to Philadelphia to be educated at the Academy and College of Philadelphia, which afterwards became the University of Penn-

sylvania. He was graduated with distinction in 1768, and three years later received his master's degree. While pursuing his classical course he was often in the home of Pastor Muhlenberg, and under him and Dr. Wrangel studied theology. Peter Muhlenberg was here at the same time studying for the ministry, and likewise Daniel Kuhn. While they studied they also preached under the direction of their two teachers in eastern Pennsylvania, in New Jersey, and among the Swedes, who at this time were desirous of having English preaching. Everybody liked these three young men and loved to hear them preach. They were men with four arms, as Dr. Mann would say, because they could preach in two languages. They were different in their ways and in their disposition. Peter was fiery and impetuous; Christian, quiet and gentle; Daniel, reserved and unassuming.

Upon finishing his studies Christian Streit was licensed and sent to Easton, where he served a congregation for almost ten years. When the Revolution broke out, no doubt at the solicitation of his friend Peter, Pastor Streit was appointed chaplain of the Eighth Virginia Regiment. This appointment was altogether to the liking of the young American pastor, as his heart was warmed by the fires of freedom.

Complete records of Streit's services in the army as chaplain have not been found by the writer. Personal inquiry at the War Department, Washington, received the following official reply: "The records show that Christian Streit served as chaplain of the Eighth Regiment, commanded by Colonel Abraham Bowman, Revolutionary

War. He was appointed August 1, 1776, and his name is last borne on a muster roll for July 1777, dated August 5, 1777, but neither the place of his birth, the names of his parents nor the date and manner of the termination of his service are shown."

While we cannot follow him in his movements in the army, it is evident that when Washington and his men retired to Valley Forge, Pastor Streit was urged to go to Charleston. It is not known to the writer whether he was requested to go as chaplain or whether the congregation at Charleston called him. This much however is known, that at this time the unique Southern city was living in full enjoyment of peace, and the German congregation there desired English preaching in addition to the regular German services. Pastor Streit was there when later on the whole Virginia line reached Charleston in defence of the city, and he evidently became chaplain of the Ninth Virginia Regiment, as Muhlenberg in a letter to Treutlen says that he was chaplain of this regiment.

While in Charleston acting perhaps in the double capacity of English pastor and army chaplain, he was taken prisoner by the British with the whole Virginia line and all the American soldiers that were in the city. He had frequently been warned of his danger and advised to flee before the British would come, but he chose rather to stay at his post and suffer imprisonment with his fellows in the cause.

When he was set free by exchange of prisoners, he took his wife and child, and before the heat of the summer of 1782 became too intense, he made his way to the home of

the patriarch who had moved from Philadelphia to the Trappe. At Muhlenberg's suggestion he became pastor of the congregation at New Hanover. Here in the home of Muhlenberg's daughter, Mrs. Swaine, Pastor Streit found a refuge and loving care for his sick wife and child. To his great sorrow his child died in a few weeks, and the mother followed August 20th. He was almost heart-broken in his grief, but under Muhlenberg's earnest entreaty he rallied and acceptably served the large parish for three years, when he followed a call to Winchester, in the Shenandoah Valley of Virginia. Here he was allowed to labor with much success and joy for twenty-seven years, to the end of his days. Fifty years after his death the fragrance of that gentle life was still in the air.

> "You may break, you may shatter the vase, if you will,
> But the scent of the roses will hang round it still."

When he came to Winchester he found there the bare walls of a large stone church. It stood on an acre lot donated to the German Lutherans by Lord Fairfax in 1753. The work of erecting a building for worship was delayed for many years by the breaking out of the French and Indian War. When the war was over the members set to work to erect a substantial limestone edifice. They made the foundation walls three and a half feet thick, and into the corner stone, which was laid April 16, 1764, they put a Latin document setting forth their Lutheran faith and giving the names of their members, together with the names of their officers and of their rulers in Virginia and in England. The walls were twenty-nine inches thick and

outlined a building forty-two feet wide and fifty-two feet long, with a height of twenty-three feet. The roof was put in place before the Revolution broke out in 1775. All work was discontinued during the war, and the building was often used for barracks. Not only did their church remain unfinished, but for most of the time they had no pastor. In fact, Christian Streit, who came to them thirty-two years after Lord Fairfax gave them the lot, was their first regular pastor.

The work of completing the church was begun in earnest when Pastor Streit arrived full of vigor and energy. Being something of a mechanical genius himself, he led the way in the making of doors and windows. Still it was a long time before the building was ready for the holding of public services. He preached in a log church near by and here he held services for four years, until at last in 1789 the place of worship could be used, and in 1793, almost thirty years after the laying of the corner stone, the church was dedicated. The joy of the faithful pastor knew no bounds when he was able to gather his people about him in the finished sanctuary.

In addition to the congregation at Winchester he served many other churches. Some were far away, but he labored on cheerfully, traveling very extensively that he might meet his many appointments. He was known far and near, and he was often called to other fields on account of his ability to preach in English. The Swedish congregations at Wilmington and Swedesboro endeavored to secure his services, but he declined to leave his flocks shepherdless. He took much interest in the young people, preach-

Old Church Wall and Streit Monument

ing in English for them and starting schools that they might have the opportunity of gaining an education. For many years he was a teacher and part owner of a school for girls. He also instructed candidates for the ministry, and among his students were William Carpenter and Paul Henkel. As pastor, preacher, and teacher he endeavored to be an active and faithful servant of his Master. He was not blessed with robust health, yet he performed his vast labors and bore the burdens of his extensive field with evident joy and pleasure. Throughout all these years his wife, whom he led to the altar after coming to Winchester, stood at his side and faithfully shared his labors, loyally relieving him of the cares of his large family. When he laid down his pen and closed his eyes she rejoiced to be able by her unwearying industry and wise management to help her children grow to maturity. She died in 1836. When Pastor Streit departed this life his congregation, in loving gratitude, laid away his body in front of the pulpit from which his voice had sounded forth for so many years.

In 1842 a new church was built, for the town of Winchester had grown up some distance away from the old site. The members looked upon the venerable church as a monument of ancestral fidelity and preserved it as a sanctuary in the cemetery, but in the night of September 27, 1854, it was destroyed by fire and only the east wall remained as a landmark. Pastor Streit's body was moved a short distance from its place of burial and a marble monument reared over the new grave. In the picture our readers can see the ivy-mantled wall of the old shrine and

the stately, artistic monument dedicated to the memory of the faithful pastor. Appropriate inscriptions are engraved on all four sides. They read as follows:

CHRISTIAN STREIT
BORN IN NEW JERSEY
JUNE 7, 1749
ORDAINED TO THE GOSPEL
MINISTRY, 1769
DIED AT WINCHESTER, VA.,
MARCH 10, 1812
FIRST MINISTER OF THE
EVANGELICAL LUTHERAN
CHURCH BORN IN AMERICA
PASTOR AT WINCHESTER
JULY 19, 1785,
TO MARCH 10, 1812
I HAVE FOUGHT A GOOD
FIGHT; I HAVE FINISHED
MY COURSE; I HAVE KEPT
THE FAITH

The reader will remember that since this inscription was engraved it has been found that the first Lutheran minister born in America was not Christian Streit, but John Abraham Lidenius, and the first one born, educated and ordained in America was Jacob van Buskirck. Christian Streit and Peter Muhlenberg share the honor of holding third place. It is remarkable that of these four distinguished men, three were born in the State of New Jersey, and each one of the four in his ancestry represents

a different nationality. The exact date of Pastor Streit's ordination is October 25, 1770.

The fact that Christian Streit is not the first native American Lutheran minister does not detract from his noble character as a faithful servant of the Lord, nor diminish our reason for admiring him. He was tender, talented, patient, peaceful, prudent, unwearying; and

> "His life was gentle, and the elements
> So mixed in him that Nature might stand up
> And say to all the world, 'This was a man.' "

Dr. Krauth, in speaking of the Winchester congregation, says: "For twenty-seven years they enjoyed the faithful preaching, the spotless example, and the untiring pastoral attentions of one of the most unpretending and good men with whom a church has ever been blessed. 'The just man walketh in his integrity; his children are blessed after him.' "

The famous home missionary, Paul Henkel, who knew him personally, says of him in his autobiography, "He was a very learned man, a good preacher, a useful and willing worker in Church and Synod, a man who knew not his own gifts and wisdom, of whom the world was not worthy." We must remember him for the benign influence of his work as a teacher, the fidelity of his ministry as a pastor, the eloquence of his virtuous life as a preacher, and the radiant splendor of his service as an American patriot and as a Christian soldier in the army of the Lord. He loved music and melody was in his heart and life; the harmony of peace made all his words and actions sweetly melodious.

XVIII

PETER MUHLENBERG

The Lutheran Church has always pointed with pride to the war record of her son, General Muhlenberg. He has done more to establish her claim to charter membership in the American Union than any other man. That another denomination has endeavored to claim him as a member is not strange, when we consider the valuable services he rendered his country, but it rests on an insufficient basis. In order that he might serve acceptably as pastor in a strictly English province, he secured episcopal ordination in England. The effect of this ordination was that he was regarded, according to the laws of the province of Virginia, as a minister authorized to perform the act of marriage legally and to collect tithes for his support. It is true, also, that this ordination made his services acceptable to the members of the Church of England, as well as to the German Lutherans whom he was called to serve. That this act did not change his faith or his former Church relationship is proved by this, that the Ministerium of Pennsylvania commissioned him to perform certain duties after this ordination, and also by this, that after he relinquished the ministry he became an active layman in the German Lutheran congregation of Philadelphia, and died in active connection with the same.

The Muhlenberg Communion Service

When the call came to this young American pastor and patriot to take up arms in defence of his country he was the Lutheran minister at Woodstock, Virginia. He began his labors here in 1772. Woodstock was the center of his new parish, and he preached at several places in the Valley of Virginia The people whom he served were sturdy Germans that had come from Pennsylvania. To show how truly German and Lutheran they were, we give a picture of the communion vessels with the altar cloth that Muhlenberg found in use in the church at Woodstock. You will notice with interest the painstaking lettering on the cloth. The cup has a similar inscription engraved over the whole exterior surface, giving the clear Lutheran doctrine. All inscriptions are German in Roman letters. The date given on all pieces is 1767. These vessels at present are the property of the Lutheran congregation at Woodstock and are wisely and reverently kept in the vault of one of the town banks.

We shall not repeat at length the story of Pastor Muhlenberg's patriotic action in giving up the pulpit for the battlefield. The story has often been told. Yet in outline let us follow his brave career that we may see what Lutheran patriotism moves a man to do for his country.

When he settled in Virginia he soon became acquainted with the young surveyor, planter, and statesman, George Washington, who was now forty years of age. They were much alike in build and inclination. Each one was stately in person, over six feet tall, calm and dignified in deportment, aggressive in spirit, and impressively noble in bearing. Both were fond of hunting, fishing, and riding.

They were intimate friends for the rest of their days, or at least till late in life, when a difference of political views separated them somewhat. Here he also met Richard Henry Lee and Patrick Henry. He heard Patrick Henry's great speeches, and was one of his ardent sympathizers and supporters. He admired his patriotic words and especially the well known peroration, "Is life so dear, or peace so sweet, as to be purchased at the price of chains and slavery? Forbid it, Almighty God! I know not what course others may take; but as for me, give me liberty, or give me death!"

In December, 1775, the House of Delegates of Virginia appointed Muhlenberg colonel of the Eighth Virginia Regiment. His training with the dragoons in Germany had fitted him for this position and he accepted the appointment. In the middle of January of the memorable year of 1776, either on the fourteenth or the twenty-first day of the month, he bade farewell to pulpit and flock and entered the arena of military activity. The historian, George Bancroft, describes the act in the following words: "The command of another regiment was given to the Lutheran minister, Peter Muhlenberg, who left the pulpit to form out of his several congregations one of the most perfect battalions in the army."

The poet, Thomas Buchanan Read, tells the story of this heroic deed in these beautiful lines:

Within its shade of elm and oak
The Church of Berkeley Manor stood;
There Sunday found the rural folk,
And some esteemed of gentle blood.

In vain their feet with loitering tread
  Passed 'mid the graves where rank is naught:
  All could not read the lesson taught
In that republic of the dead.

How sweet the hour of Sabbath talk,
  The vale with peace and sunshine full,
Where all the happy people walk,
  Decked in their homespun flax and wool!
Where youth's gay hats with blossoms bloom
  And every maid, with simple art,
  Wears on her breast, like her own heart,
A bud whose depths are all perfume;
While every garment's gentle stir
Is breathing rose and lavender.

The pastor rose: the prayer was strong;
The psalm was warrior David's song:
The text, a few short words of might—
"The Lord of hosts shall arm the right."
He spoke of wrongs too long endured,
Of sacred rights to be secured;
Then from his patriot tongue of flame
The startling words of Freedom came.

The stirring sentences he spake
Compelled the heart to glow and quake,
And, rising on his theme's broad wing,
  And grasping in his nervous hand
  The imaginary battle-brand,
In face of death he dared to fling
Defiance to a tyrant king.

Even as he spoke, his frame, renewed
In eloquence of attitude,
Rose, as it seemed, a shoulder higher,
Then swept his kindling glance of fire
From startled pew to breathless choir,

When suddenly his mantle wide
His hands impatient flung aside,
And, lo! he met their wondering eyes
Complete in all a warrior's guise.

A moment there was awful pause,—
When Berkeley cried, "Cease, traitor! cease!
God's temple is the house of peace!"
The other shouted, "Nay, not so,
When God is with our righteous cause:
His holiest places then are ours,
His temples are our forts and towers
That frown upon the tyrant foe:
In this the dawn of Freedom's day
There is a time to fight and pray!"

And now before the open door—
The warrior priest had ordered so—
The enlisting trumpet's sudden roar
Rang through the chapel, o'er and o'er,
Its long reverberating blow,
So loud and clear, it seemed the ear
Of dusty death must wake and hear.
And there the startling drum and fife
Fired the living with fiercer life;
While overhead with wild increase,
Forgetting its ancient toll of peace,
The great bell swung as ne'er before:
It seemed as it would never cease,
And every word its ardor flung
From off its jubilant iron tongue
Was, "War! War! War!"

"Who dares"—this was the patriot's cry,
As striding from the desk he came—
"Come out with me in Freedom's name,
For her to live, for her to die?"
A hundred hands flung up reply,
A hundred voices answered "I!"

Colonel Muhlenberg, after collecting the enlisted soldiers, proceeded at once to Suffolk in southeast Virginia to train and equip the men under his command. In May he received orders to hasten to Lee's assistance at Charleston. The long journey was made in less than a month. We shall let Bancroft describe his journey and arrival. He says, "In the following night (June 23d–24th) Muhlenberg's regiment arrived. On receiving Lee's orders they had instantly set off from Virginia and marched to Charleston, without tents, continually exposed to the weather. The companies were composed of Muhlenberg's old German parishioners; and of all the Virginia regiments this was the most complete, the best armed, best clothed and best equipped for immediate service."

His arrival greatly encouraged Lee's besieged army. He was given an important place in the plans of that great victory, for he was sent to reinforce the command stationed in the east end of Sullivan's Island. The fighting, however, was done at Fort Moultrie, and his work was that of defence in case of an attack. He performed his task nobly, winning the approbation of General Lee, who said of his troops: "It happened at this time, though not complete to a man (for no regiment is ever complete to a man), that Muhlenberg's regiment was not only the most complete of the province, but, I believe, of the whole continent. It was not only the most complete in numbers, but the best armed, clothed and equipped for immediate service. His soldiers were alert, zealous and spirited."

After the victory of Charleston, General Lee ordered

Muhlenberg's troops, with others, to Georgia and Florida. It was in the midst of the hot and sultry summer and the soldiers suffered intensely in the malarial districts of eastern Georgia. While here the news first reached the army of the adoption of the Declaration of Independence. Poles were raised and bonfires built to celebrate the event. Here Colonel Muhlenberg met the intimate friend of his father, John Adam Treutlen, and in all likelihood with him visited Pastor Rabenhorst and the Ebenezer Church.

In September General Lee received orders to come north. His campaign to Florida was therefore abandoned, and he hastened away. Later on Muhlenberg followed with his soldiers, and in December they reached Virginia again, where they spent the winter recuperating. In recognition of his valuable and efficient services, Colonel Muhlenberg, February 21, 1777, was elevated to the rank of Brigadier General and put in command of the Virginia line. He was soon ordered to join the main army under Washington, which was then in northern New Jersey. Before he arrived Washington had won a series of brilliant victories at Trenton and Princeton, and had driven the British back into New York. From here they quietly sailed to the Chesapeake and journeyed through upper Delaware into Philadelphia, bringing about, in the fall of the year, engagements at Brandywine and Germantown. At both of these battles General Muhlenberg rendered distinguished services, but he could not turn defeat into victory. Had all fought as bravely as he and his Virginia troops victories would have resulted.

Upon this campaign followed the winter at Valley Forge, near the Muhlenberg home, with the British safely and securely entrenched in the city of Brotherly Love.

The leaving of the city by the British in June, 1778, brought about the battle of Monmouth, where Muhlenberg and Von Steuben retrieved the disaster caused by General Lee's blunder. During the summer of 1779, when General Anthony Wayne made the *mad* assault successfully upon Stony Point, Muhlenberg was second in command. At the end of this year the Virginia line was ordered to the defence of Charleston, under General Woodford, and Muhlenberg was sent to Virginia to take sole command of the defence of the State. This change in his rank and position, which at first seemed unjust to Muhlenberg, saved him from imprisonment in Charleston, when all the American soldiers were made prisoners. In Virginia Muhlenberg spent the year 1780 recruiting companies for the southern army and defending the State against the enemy. In December Von Steuben arrived and took command, and later Lafayette. The armies on both sides were beginning to concentrate here for a final conflict. During 1781 Washington arrived with the main army, which was reinforced by the French allies on land and sea. In the final struggle, October 19, 1781, General Muhlenberg was a prominent actor, and he acquitted himself with distinction, drawing from Washington words of most earnest commendation. At all times he received expressions of highest approbation from his superior officers, among whom, besides Washington and Lee, were Von Steuben, Lafayette, Gates, and Greene. Yorktown

ended Muhlenberg's active services on the battlefield. The whole of the year 1782 was spent by him in Virginia, recruiting the regiments, drilling and equipping the soldiers for the southern army. The year 1783 was spent in the same way, though by this time it was evident that the war was over. September 30th, before the news of peace had reached the colonies, our hero, the Brigadier General, was made a Major General, an honor that he truly merited. At the end of this year he moved to Philadelphia with his family, and was called into the active service of his native State. The gift of himself to his country was complete. He gave away his minister's gown, put aside his military garb, and having once taken up the toga of statesmanship he never laid it away again. Many were the positions of honor and trust his State and country tendered him. First, he was made a member of the Supreme Executive Committee of Pennsylvania; then Vice President of the Commonwealth with Franklin as President; then a Representative in the First, the Third and the Sixth Congress; then United States Senator from Pennsylvania; at the time of his death he held an appointment under President Jefferson.

As a Christian citizen he was an active member of Zion's and St. Michael's Lutheran congregation of Philadelphia. He was one of the leaders in the establishment of St. John's English Lutheran Church on Race Street. The Lord allowed him to live to see the difficult undertaking crowned with success. When he passed away his children reverently laid his body beside that of his father in the God's acre of the Augustus Church at the Trappe,

Virginia, when after pronouncing the benediction, he threw aside his clerical robe and stood before the large congregation in full soldier's uniform, uttering the famous sentence, "There is a time for all things, a time to preach and a time to fight, and now is the time to fight." The members of the congregation are springing from their seats in wild, patriotic enthusiasm, ready to follow their pastor from the church to the battlefield.

On the other faces of the pedestal are found the names of the battles in which he participated, the positions of honor and trust he held, and the seal of the German Society.

Our hero was a minister of fiery determination in upholding the truth, a warrior of unvarying courage and prompt decision, and a statesman of sterling integrity. His efficient and brilliant services won for him the esteem and admiration of his contemporaries and earned for him an undying name in America. He secured for the Church of which he was a minister, and in whose faith he lived and died, a place in the Temple of Liberty he helped to rear as a brave and wise master builder.

John Adam Treutlen

XIX

JOHN ADAM TREUTLEN

In endeavoring to keep the American colonies in subjection to the British crown, England's plan was to retain as many of her provinces separately in her grasp as possible. It is easy to understand, therefore, that if the British had succeeded in holding Massachusetts it would have given them a most convenient and effective seat of war from which to advance upon New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania. In a similar manner they early assailed Savannah and Charleston with the idea that should they hold Georgia and South Carolina their approach upon the colonies from the south would promptly result in maintaining British control in North Carolina and Virginia. They were driven from Boston and likewise from Savannah and Charleston, yet so determined were they in the prosecution of this plan, that though repulsed in 1776 at each of the southern ports they returned late in the year 1778 and reconquered Savannah and Charleston and held parts of Georgia and South Carolina for months after the fall of Yorktown. The last battle of the Revolution was fought on the soil of Georgia, seven months after the surrender of Cornwallis. It was an American victory won by Mad Anthony Wayne, and resulted in the opening of Savannah to the American army in July, 1782.

General Greene entered Charleston in the following December. These facts show the importance of the part of the Revolutionary War enacted in the South.

The British were driven from Boston by Washington. They were foiled in their attempts to hold the port of Savannah by the gallant services of men like Governor John Adam Treutlen, the greatest Lutheran layman produced by the Salzburgers in Georgia. This sketch, the last of the series entitled "Lutheran Landmarks and Pioneers in America," the writer desires to devote to the heroic career of this noble builder of the Temple of Liberty, who died a martyr's death in the cause of American freedom and independence.

When eleven years of age John Adam Treutlen was brought to the Salzburger ministers by his mother, who lived in a small settlement near Savannah, called Vernonburg. His mother's object was to have him educated and confirmed in the Ebenezer colony. The records show that he had an older brother who settled on a plantation half way between Savannah and Ebenezer, and had his children baptized by the Salzburger pastors. There was another brother, well known to the Lutheran pastor at London, who lost his life by drowning at Gosport, England.

These details are recorded in the German reports of Pastor Bolzius. We are left in doubt about other facts that we would like to know concerning the family. We cannot tell whether the Treutlens came from Salzburg or not. If they did, they must have lingered in England longer than the other refugees, or arrived there after the others had come to America, for after 1741 the Salz-

burgers came only in separate families. It is just as probable that they came from South Germany. Be this as it may, it seems the vessel in which the family sailed for America was captured by pirates, that the family was robbed of all its possessions, that the father was thrown into prison and died there, and that the mother with her two boys was allowed to find her way to America as best she could.

After untold difficulties and privations, of which we have no record, the three strangers reached Savannah and the mother found a home at Vernonburg. Frederick, the older son, in a short time took up a grant of land and married; John Adam came to Ebenezer and made that his home; the mother married again, and, at least for some years, lived at Vernonburg. In 1747, at the age of fourteen years, the young son at Ebenezer was confirmed. Bolzius frequently speaks of him in his reports and commends him for his industry at work, his zeal in learning, and his obedience in conduct. At first, while at Ebenezer, he worked on a plantation, but he soon advanced himself by his diligence and found a home with the surgeon of the colony, Dr. Mayer. His new master took particular pains to teach him, and allowed him to assist in his surgical work. Dr. Mayer taught school in addition to his other duties, and this was of great advantage to young Treutlen. Suddenly a change came over the boy that gave Dr. Mayer and the two pastors a heavy heart. Young Treutlen became careless in his work and conduct. The cause was soon discovered. It lay in the evil influence of his stepfather, whom he met whenever he visited his

mother. Fortunately the eyes of the young man were opened to his danger before he had gone too far, and he repented. From that time forth he was a wiser boy and became very respectful to his employer, grateful to the two pastors, and very devout in the performance of his religious duties. He continued to study earnestly and added to his other branches the study of the English language. He saw the importance of this and applied himself very carefully to his English reader and grammar. He became a good scholar, wrote a clear, round hand and acquired a vigorous style of composition. Some years later he served for a year as a drug clerk in Savannah, which added both to his experience and knowledge and taught him tact and grace in dealing with people.

In his church life he was so regular and faithful that he was elected a deacon before the death of the first pastor in 1765. He remained a deacon to the end of his life, and when the patriarch Muhlenberg visited Ebenezer in 1774 he was the leading officer of the congregation and made a most favorable impression upon Muhlenberg by his calm, deliberate, wise, and peace-seeking manner of procedure; by his conscientious and unwavering defence of the right; and by his consistent Christian character and conduct. Muhlenberg never forgot him and frequently wrote to him in the friendliest manner. One of his letters he transcribed into his diary before sending it, for which we must be very thankful, as it contains information not elsewhere found. In 1774 the families came near being linked together by marriage. A son of the sister of Mrs. Muhlenberg was left fatherless in his earliest infancy, and while still very young

his mother married again and the stepfather was a Catholic. The child had been baptized into the Lutheran faith, of which his father was a minister, and the famous Dr. Israel Acrelius was his sponsor. When the son was seventeen years of age he was sent to Ebenezer to escape the undesirable influence of his stepfather. Here he found employment in the home of Mr. Treutlen, who by this time had become a rich planter and merchant, possessing over thirteen hundred acres of land and holding twenty-three negroes in his service. In this prosperous home were the parents and at least five children, among whom was a daughter. The mother was a very fine woman, mentioned favorably by Bolzius and Muhlenberg, born in Purysburg, South Carolina, early left an orphan and sent to Ebenezer to be educated and confirmed, which took place in 1754. Mr. and Mrs. Treutlen kindly befriended young Israel and were as a father and mother to him. A fond attachment sprang up between the young man and the daughter, and it began to be whispered about that they were to be married. No doubt the ceremony would have been performed during Muhlenberg's stay at Ebenezer; but, alas! two months before Muhlenberg arrived the young man, in endeavoring to control a spirited horse, was killed. Sadness filled the once happy home, as the orphan boy, the only bearer of his father's name in America, breathed his last, and when the information reached the uncle and aunt at Charleston, they deeply grieved over the early death of their young nephew in whom they were so much interested.

Treutlen's political career began early. Soon after the

year 1760, at least as early as 1764, he was appointed magistrate, or justice of the peace, for St. Matthew's Parish. His employer had filled this office before him, and Treutlen's knowledge of both German and English and his close observation of his master's experience enabled him to be of decided service to his people. He was repeatedly appointed to this position of trust and usefulness. While serving as magistrate he was sent by St. Matthew's Parish to the Provincial Assembly under the British Governor Wright. For twelve years before the breaking out of the Revolution he was called into public service again and again, and when the contest for liberty began he was one of the first and foremost among those who contended for the establishment of a free government for the American colonies. He was a member of the first congress elected for the purpose of forming a State, which met at Savannah July 4, 1775. He was present when the measures and recommendations of the Continental Congress were approved by the Georgia Assembly, and was appointed a member of the Committee of Safety created by this body to serve during the intermission. In the work of this committee he was in the van of activity. The British Governor was arrested and held a prisoner on their order. In the fall of 1776 a constitution for the State of Georgia was drafted and adopted. According to its provisions a State Legislature was appointed whose first duty it was to elect a governor. When the Legislature met, May 8, 1777, John Adam Treutlen was elected as governor by a large majority and installed at once. Thus the Lutheran deacon of Jerusalem Church became the

first governor under the constitution of Georgia as a free State. By the terms of election he could serve but one term of one year. He was styled "The Honorable John Adam Treutlen," and was "captain general, governor and commander in chief in and over said State of Georgia." His term of service was marked by bravery and brilliancy. He issued eleven masterful proclamations with telling effect. He thwarted the encroachments of the British from the east and south, met the attacks of the Indians from the west, and successfully defied the approaches of the "combiners" from the north.

The last refers to the efforts made by citizens from South Carolina who wanted to combine South Carolina and Georgia into one State, under the style and title of South Carolina. This plan would have deprived Georgia of its autonomy, or separate authority. It is needless to say that the project was very objectionable to all Georgians, for they felt proud of the noble history of their State. By the prompt and vigorous action of Governor Treutlen this scheme was defeated and the integrity of the State preserved for all time. In one of the Indian outbreaks he took his place at the head of the militia and drove back the enemy to their great confusion and disaster, and we do not hear of their returning again. During his term he mortgaged his property to defray the expenses of the government and of the Revolution. The bond was satisfied years afterwards by his son Christian.

The joy of his service as governor was marred by the death of his wife, June 25, 1777. Muhlenberg, in his wonderful letter to His Excellency Governor Treutlen,

refers feelingly to this sad event in the life of his friend, and contrasts the joy of May 8th with the sorrow of June 25th. Treutlen had himself written to Muhlenberg, and two of his topics were the events of these two dates.

After the expiration of his term he retired to his plantation north of Ebenezer and married again. But there was no peace for the brave man. He was branded by the British as the "rebel governor," and put by name under the unalterable ban of death. When the British reconquered Georgia and devastated the whole State as far as Augusta, he and his family were driven into South Carolina, his property was confiscated and his home and barns were burned to the ground. This was early in 1779. Treutlen settled near Orangeburg. Here he found that his reputation for patriotism had preceded him and he easily won the esteem and approbation of his new neighbors. In the fall of 1781 he was elected to the State Assembly from his district, but circumstances prevented him from serving. His own State elected him to a similar position and he felt that his former home had a prior claim on him. When the Georgia Assembly met in Augusta, which was now freed again of British control, he was there taking an active part in all the business and serving on the most important committees. The Assembly adjourned January 12th to meet again July 1st, but the governor called a special session to meet April 18th. When they came together our hero was not there to answer to his name. Where was he? The Assembly records give us the information that a certain one was appointed on a committee in the room of Mr. Treutlen, deceased. We do not know how it

The Oglethorpe Monument, Savannah, Georgia

happened, but some time in the spring of 1782, a short time before April 18th, he was decoyed from his home in South Carolina by four or five tories and "barbarously murdered," as was afterwards reported to Muhlenberg. It is evident that he gave his enemies no chance to cease their enmity against him, but continued active in the struggle for liberty. Professor Faust says he entered the American army under General Wayne and served as a volunteer. This is probably true, as his name is enrolled among the honored soldiers of the Continental line. Undaunted in spirit, with undiminished zeal and patriotism, he fought until his sacrifices were sealed with his life blood. The adopted son of Georgia and South Carolina gave his life for the freedom of his country, and through his martyrdom the Lutheran Church participated in the laying of the foundation stones of the Temple of Liberty.

John Adam Treutlen is not known as well as he should be by our Lutheran Church nor by the people of the State in which he spent by far the greatest part of his useful life. His grave is known to but few, and is unmarked, save, perhaps, by a very simple stone. His memory is not perpetuated by a single column or shaft known to the writer, nor his name given to a single county, town, park, avenue or street in any part of Georgia or South Carolina. Neither have our historians done deserved justice to his name, deeds, and character. Savannah is fast becoming a beautiful city of monuments. Tomo-Chichi, Oglethorpe, Pulaski, and Jasper are fittingly and magnificently remembered, but the memory of the man who so bravely defended Savannah against the encroachments of the

Indians and of the British, who was called to be its first governor and who courageously gave his life for the rights and liberties of the American people, receives no just recognition. A park in Savannah, a county in Georgia, avenues or parks in the large cities of Atlanta, Augusta, and Macon, should be named in his honor; and a monument in Savannah and a suitable stone at the place of his burial near St. Matthews, South Carolina, should be reared to the memory of his untarnished, unselfish, and heroic life sacrificed in the realms of patriotism for the cause of freedom and independence.

* * * * * * * * * * * *

The Lutheran Church is not a foreign Church. She was here in the dawn of the American Republic, and helped to dispel the darkness of dependence and to send the light and brightness of the sun of freedom into the life of the new land. She was here when our nation opened wide her gates to immigration and received far more members than she ever possessed in colonial times, but thereby she does not lose her right to be regarded as one of the charter members of the American Republic. Like the nation in which she thrives she is "one out of many," and one whose life on American soil is so closely interwoven with that of the nation, that no mortal hand will ever be able to tear the scarlet fibers of her strength from the wonderful fabric of American life and history.

APPENDIX

THE WONDERFUL LETTER

WRITTEN IN MASTERFUL ENGLISH BY PASTOR MUHLENBERG TO GOVERNOR TREUTLEN

(Referred to in Sketches XVII and XIX. Spelling and capitalization retained.)

DEAR SIR: I had just finished and addressed a few lines to my kind Friend John Adam Treutlen, Esquire, when unexpected there arrived two Gentlemen from Georgia at my house and delivered a condescending Letter of His Excellency dated August 14th, a. c.,[1] containing the comfortable account "that mine old Friend Esquire Treutlen were alive yet and still retained an undeserved fervent Love and Regard for me and my family, praying it might please the most High to comfort me and my Wife in our old age. Moreover 'that my Worthy Friend took pleasure in meeting and seeing my Sons last year, etc., and promiseth in Future if a little leisure should permit to open his whole store of Intelligence, i. e., his whole heart to me." What due thanks can I return to such a well-wishing Friend and Benefactor? French Compliments and Flatteries are mere words, too empty and tedious to serious and Christian Minds. I shall therefore as in duty

[1] "Anno currente," the current year.

bound endeavor to supplicate at the Throne of Grace at the fountain Head of all Prosperity and Blessings suited for Soul and Body, for time and Eternity, that it may please the only true and everliving Saviour of the World, (whom the gay part of the World doth despise and expell and the Ignorant part not know) to revive in the Soul of my dear old Friend the many past impressions, calls, awakenings, good purposes and convictions of the Gospel Truths tending to effect that living Faith which is connected with that Peace and lasting happiness, satisfaction, Honor and Glory which no transcient object in the most gay and witty World can afford and which is followed by the same operations of the divine Spirit and Gospel Truth in daily Renovation and Sanctification without which no Mortal shall see and enjoy the endless Blessings and Perfections purchased and prepared for a future State. King Solomon had tried all the Objects in the gay World whatsoever may be called a refined taste but the result of it was Vanity of Vanity.

Concerning the Hints of Intelligence, it surprized me and remaineth a Mystery till further Explanation, that my beloved Brother R. a few days before his death in a manner should have renounced his Friendship and Confidence in a certain experienced Friend of so many years! There are reasons for every Action and Passion, but there is also a Difference between genuine and apparent reasons.

It grieveth me "that the Ebenezer Congregation is in a deplorable Condition, chiefly owing to themselves." Pity! if the People don't or won't take good Advice. Last Spring I received a letter from the mourning Widow

Madam Rabenhorst and likewise from the Elders and Wardens of the Congregation, wherein they advised the Departure of their dear Shepherd, my beloved Brother, and asked how they should do concerning the legacy, whereof the Rev'd Pastor Rabenhorst and his dear Espouse had given a bond executed unto the Rev'd Directors in Europe, acknowledged before the Honorable Esquire Treutlen, recorded in Savannah and a Copy of it delivered unto the Elders and Wardens. The Original Bond I was obliged to send to the Rev'd Fathers in Europe according to their Instructions and is safe come to hand. The said Vestry desired I should write to Europe and advise the Rev'd Fathers of the present Vacancy and that the Congregation might be provided with a faithful Minister, etc. But the communication being cut off, I tried several Means in vain, till at last I got an Opportunity to send a Letter to New York unsealed, and begged a friend there to promote it to Europe. The time is too short for expecting an Answer as yet. So far I have communicated what little I had at heart with my much respected Friend Esquire Treutlen.

And whereas "the Face of Affairs has changed exceedingly since I left my loving Friends in Georgia," I must therefore needs change my Style also, Rom. 13, 7, Honor to whom honor is due—

Mr. Wm. Horsby arriving at my house on the 14th of October, a. c., delivered Your Excellency's condescending Letter, dated Aug. 14th, a. c., safe to me. The 8th of May and 25th of June a. c. are memorable Days worthy to be remembered. Accidit in puncto, quod non speratur in

Anno.[1] With the loss of your Excellency's Consort I heartily condole and sympathize, wishing divine Providence may supply the Vacancy with an Heiress of Grace adorned with the Ornament of a meek and quiet Spirit which is in the Sight of God of great Price. And so to the Accident of the 8th of May I humbly think it may suit as well to congratulate at the Expiration of the year. For in the present critical Juncture and Constellation it seems dangerous and too burdensome to be exposed in high Stations. In old times they had a Proverb and used to say: vox populi, vox Dei, i. e., the Voice of the people is the Voice of God; but since the Face of Affairs happens to change exceedingly, it may turn opposite and be said, the Voice of the People is vox Diaboli, especially when they are divided into parties opposite. We find an instance in Acts 14, 11ss, The people lift up their voices and proclaimed Barnabas Jupiter and Paul Mercurius and prepared Sacrifices, etc.: but how soon did the Face of Affairs change when Sacrifices were turned into Stones? Nevertheless all changes are under the unerring Rules of Divine Providence, Dan. 2 : 21ss. It is the most High and Almighty that changeth the Times and Seasons: He removeth Kings and setteth up Kings: He giveth Wisdom unto the Wise and addeth Knowledge to understanding. He revealeth the deep and secret things. He knoweth what is in the Darkness and the Light dwelleth with him. May the Lord of Heaven and Earth, of all Wisdom, Power and Glory support Your Excellency with sufficient strength

[1] Things come to pass in a moment which are not looked for in a year.

and Spirit under the heavy burden of the present high station for His Honor and Glory, for the welfare of the State and prosperity of your tender beloved Offspring, which is the fervent Prayer of Your Excellency's most humble and obedient servant,

H. M. Muhlenberg.

New Providence, Oct. 14, 1777.

P. S. Bearer of these lines is the Rev'd Mr. Christian Streit who has served as minister several years in some of our United Lutheran Congregations, and the last time as chaplain in the 9th Regiment of Virginia, and being desired to officiate in the German Congregation at Charlestown, he intends to move there, and this gave me opportunity to commit unto him this letter, being of humble opinion it might not be amiss, if he should step over from Charlestown to Savannah and EbenEzer in Order to visit our Flock, in case they should be quite destitute of a Lutheran Minister. If he should come there I would humbly recommend him to Your Excellency's protection as long as he behaveth according as he has done here.

Query: In case the Mistake concerning the Jurisdiction of the EbenEzer Churches and Land were not yet settled aright, would it not now be in season to have that point settled since Your Excellency are in that Station? Might not the Elders and Wardens make application for it? But if it is settled already, as Mr. Triebner has mentioned in his Letter to the Rev'd Mr. Pasche, I shall rest content.

The Seat of War is now in the Heart and Bowels of Pennsylvania. Devastation and Poverty are the Effects.

It seems we must move nearer Southward, because it is hard to live naked in a cold climate with an empty stomach, etc. The wisest and best, or surest Method is to lay up a Treasure in Heaven, etc., where neither Moth nor Rust doth corrupt and where thieves do not break through nor steal.

H. M. M.

NOTES TO THE SECOND EDITION

Page 74, third line from the bottom: Under the direction of their rector, the Rev. Edgar Campbell, the members of Trinity Church, Swedesboro, New Jersey, have set their cemetery in fitting order, and have established a fund for its perpetual care and preservation.

* * * * *

Page 146, third line from the bottom: To the great joy of the Rev. Tillman W. Shealy and his people, Holy Trinity Church, Springfield, Georgia, was dedicated November, 16, 1913.

* * * * *

Page 188, near the top: Friday, May 22, 1914, was a day of great interest in the vicinity of St. Matthews, South Carolina, for on this day a massive granite boulder, five feet high, was unveiled near the spot where John Adam Treutlen lost his life. A large bronze tablet set in the face of the boulder bears the following inscription:

JOHN ADAM TREUTLEN
GOVERNOR OF GEORGIA 1777
AND A STERN REVOLUTIONARY PATRIOT
BORN AT BERCHTESGADEN, AUSTRIA, 1726,
AND BRUTALLY MURDERED BY TORIES
ABOUT 1782 NEAR THIS SPOT.
ERECTED BY WILLIAM THOMSON CHAPTER D. A. R.
AND EMILY GEIGER CHAPTER C. A. R., ST. MATTHEWS, S. C.

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